National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

BEECHER, THE SATANIC PARSON, IN ENGLAND.

From Bennett's Herald, Nov. 5

ONE of the most beautiful stories of Holy Writ is that of the temptation of Jesus. St. Matthew tells us that Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness and there the tempter came to him, but was repulsed and rebuked. "Again," says St. Matthew, "the Devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, and saith unto him, All these will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Then the Devil leaveth him, and, behold, angels came and ministered unto him."

Nearly nineteen centuries after this wonderful event we find this same Satan, in the form of a Brooklyn parson, troubling the world as he troubled Jesus upon the mount. His tail and his horns are concealed beneath the apparel of the period; but his infernal spirit is as evident as ever. He has caused wars and confusion, through the agency of this Brooklyn parson and other parsons of that stamp, in this chosen land, which was once the most happy, the most peaceful and the most powerful upon the face of the earth. Now, incarnated in the body of Beecher, he has crossed the Atlantic and is trying to set all England by the ears. Selfishly speaking we wish him success. While he is busy there we may possibly be able to repair damages here. Satan is a hard worker; but he is not omnipotent, and cannot raise the devil in more than one country at a time, if God and good men are working against him. England has been tampering with evil for a long while past, and deserves all that Satan can give her. While she is in agony we may be permitted to escape. It follows, therefore, that England's extremity will be our opportunity, and that the visit of Satan to London will aid the Union cause.

Mr. Beecher is a true satanic parson. His Christianity is a satanic humbug. His church is a satanic church. His followers are followers of Satan. His disciples go to a satanic school. He offers them the political world and the glory of it if they will fall down and worship him and his master. He is not, indeed, the Devil himself. That honor is reserved for Wendell Phillips. But the Devil possesses him, travels with him and actuates him. The Devil bestows upon him that moving eloquence, that astonishing command of language, that ability to raise a row at any moment and in any place, for which his admirers give him so much credit. This explains his superiority as a diplomat to the Chevaliers Wikoff, Jewett and Weed, and even to his Grace Archbishop Hughes. These personages have been to Europe; but they accomplished little or nothing, because they did not have the Devil with them. Some of them were accompanied by Mammon, others by Mummery; but none of them had the real Devil. Beecher undoubtedly has. He detailed a little imp of Satan to manage his weekly paper during his absence, and took the genuine Lucifer as his travelling companion. His advent in England was marked by an earthquake. His first speech produced a moral earthquake. If he does not involve the British isles in some tremendous disaster before his return it will be because the English are the most lucky people upon the globe.

One of the daily organs of Satan in this city ascribes to the satanic parson "intense passion," "marvellous power of illustration" and "great flexibility." These are satanic qualities. The organ also describes him as contending with "a raging sea" of opposition—"now soaring to overcome it, now sinking to undermine it, now dashing in its teeth." This is precisely the satanic style of warfare. We, in our kindness of heart, have previously spoken of Parson Beecher's "pluck." It is satanic pluck, which knows no fear because it has nothing to lose and everything to gain. Milton praises Satan for the same quality. The London *Times* says that Beecher appealed to English selfishness. It is just this human weakness which Satan generally plays upon, and this is the chord he attempted to touch when he offered Divinity all the kingdoms of this world. Nor are the fruits of Parson Beecher's efforts unworthy of his satanic inspiration. He and such as he have wasted an ocean of blood already in their hypocritical defence of the rights of the black race. Desolate homes, widows' tears, the cries of poor orphans and the lamentations of mothers will be his welcome when he again sets foot upon our shores. They are his triumphs. He has assisted in causing them. Nay, he has done so under the guise of religion, and philanthropy, and has thus added a new leaf to his blood-stained laurels. Every one may serve Satan if he will; but it is not every one who can serve him as Parson Beecher does, in the livery of God.

Still, in spite of all this, we have hopes that the visit of the satanic parson to England will help the Union cause. Indeed this could scarcely be otherwise; for, by a providential arrangement, Satan continually trips himself up; his schemes work against each other, and the evil he does in one place counteracts the evil in another. So it will doubtless be with Parson Beecher. His visit has injured England a great deal, and may breed revolutions there; but all this will prevent foreign intervention in our affairs, and allow us to settle matters in our own way. Thus it is that the satanic parson in England helps to undo the work of the satanic parson in America.

From The London Herald, Oct. 22.

IN a nation of mediocrities Mr. Henry Ward Beecher has managed to acquire, partly by puffing himself, a sort of distinction which he mistakes for fame. When he came to this country, under the impression that the intelligent classes in England might be inclined to accept his dictum on any great question of the day, he was very much in the wrong. A man of vulgar appearance and a course mind, the best that he can hope for is to rank in our esteem with Cuffey and O'Connor, with Vincent and Gongh, and other Chartist and teetotal orators, who have been listened to by a certain section of the laboring classes. He describes himself as a "pestilential reverend fellow." We may accept one-half of the description; we demur to the other half. Society in America may be rather loose in its notions as to what constitutes or does not constitute a minister of the Gospel; it is difficult to imagine that Mr. Beecher can have claimed such rank even there.

REBEL TERMS OF PEACE.

From The Richmond Enquirer

Save on our terms, we can accept no peace whatever, and must fight till doomsday rather than yield an iota of them; and our terms are:

Recognition by the enemy of the independence of the Confederate States.

Withdrawal of the Yankee forces from every foot of Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missouri.

Withdrawal of the Yankee soldiers from Maryland, until that State shall decide by a free vote whether she shall remain in the old Union or ask admission into the Confederacy.

Consent on the part of the Federal government to give up to the Confederacy its proportion of the navy as it stood at the time of secession, or to pay for the same.

Yielding up of all pretensions on the part of the Federal government to that portion of the old territories which lies west of the Confederate States.

An equitable settlement, on the basis of our absolute independence and equal rights, of all accounts of the public debt and public lands, and the advantages accruing from foreign treaties.

These provisions, we apprehend, comprise the minimum of what we must require before we lay down our arms; that is to say, the North must yield all—we nothing.

Selections.

A CONVERTED REBEL.

[The Hon. E. W. Gantt of Arkansas, a well-known citizen of that State, who has served in the Rebel army and twice been taken prisoner by our forces, has issued a long address to the people of Arkansas, from which we copy as follows:]

WE are whipped—fairly beaten. Our armies are melting and ruin approaches us. Will continuing this struggle help us? Every battle we might gain ought to wring tears from the hearts of Southern men! We are just that much weaker, that much nearer our final ruin. Anguish and sorrow and desolation meet us wherever we turn. The longer the struggle the more of it.

Don't let yourselves be deceived with the hope that the United States will abandon the struggle. They can never do it. They have toiled and seen too much to see the solution of the problem, and [illegible] the figures. They scarcely feel the war at home. Their cities are more populous and thrifty than ever. For every man that dies or gets killed in battle, two emigrate to the country. Their villages and towns, their fields and country, flourish as fresh as ever. They could sink their armies to-day, and raise new levies to crush us, and not feel it.

How is it with us? The last man is in the field, half our territory overrun, our cities gone to wreck—peopled alone by the aged, the lame and halt, and women and children; while deserted towns, and smoking ruins, and plantations abandoned and laid waste, meet us on all sides, and anarchy and ruin, disappointment and discontent, lower over all the land.

Have no hopes from a divided North. It is on the surface—scarcely goes to the bottom of their politics, much less shaking the great masses of their determined people. Remember, too, that much of the South is with them. There is no division as far as fighting us is concerned. The mildest of them simply proposes peace by reconstruction. That rejected, they are to press us with redoubled energy. Let us not, after all our misfortunes and blunders, construe the struggles between politicians for place into sympathy for ourselves. But how could they propose peace? Who would bring the message? To whom would it be delivered? And should the proposition be made and rejected, we are that much worse off for it. We must propose peace, for we ought to know when we have got enough of the thing.

I am asked if Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation proclamation will stand. If you continue the struggle, certainly. He has the physical force at his disposal to carry it out. If you cease now, you may save all in your hands, or compromise on gradual emancipation. But let, I beseech you, the negro no longer stand in the way of the happiness and safety of friends and kindred.

The changes of sentiment upon this question in the South have been curious. Not many years since, it was by no means unusual for the press and public men, as well as for the people generally, in the South, to concede that slavery was an evil, and regret that it should ever have existed; expressing, however, no disposition or desire to be rid of it. Yet, a few years more — the demand for cotton having increased, the price of negroes having advanced, and the agitation of the slavery question having increased in virulence—finds us defending slavery as a divine institution. *DeBow's Review*, and other Southern papers and periodicals, with Senator Hammond of South Carolina, were prominent in this defense. Their object was to educate the Southern mind to this belief. Such a course has been vital to the existence [illegible] that negro slavery was morally wrong, was virtually to concede the whole argument to the Abolitionists. As the controversy warmed, we became sensitive. And so morbidly so, that the North might have threatened with impunity to deprive us of horses, or other property; yet the whole South would be ablaze if some fanatic took one negro. Such was public sentiment South, at the commencement of this most unfortunate and bloody struggle. But revolutions shake up men's thoughts, and put them in different channels. I have recently talked with Southern slaveholders from every State. They are tired of negro slavery, and I believe they could make more clear money, and live more peaceably, without than with it. As for the non-slaveholder of the South, I honestly thought the struggle was for him more than for his wealthy neighbor—that to free the negro would reduce to comparative slavery the poor white man. I now regret, that instead of a war to sustain slavery, it had not been a struggle at the ballot-box to colonize it. This will clearly be the next struggle.

Let us, fellow-citizens, endeavor to be calm. Let us look these new ideas, and our novel position, squarely in the face. We fought for negro slavery. We have lost. We may have to do without it. The inconvenience will be great for awhile. The loss heavy. This, however, is already well nigh accomplished. Yet, behind this dark cloud is a silver lining. If not for us, at least for our children. In the place of these bondsmen will come an immense influx of people from all parts of the world, bringing with them their wealth, arts and improvements, and lending their talents and sinews to increase our aggregate wealth. Thrift and trade, and a common destiny, will bind us together. Machinery in the hills of Arkansas will reverberate to the music of machinery in New England, and the whirr of Georgia spindles will meet responsive echos upon the slopes of the far-off Pacific. Protective tariffs, if needed, will stretch in their influences from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from ocean to ocean, bearing alike, at last, equally upon Arkansian and Vermonter, and upon Georgian and Californian. Difference of section and local sentiment will wear away and be forgotten, and the next generation be more homogenous and united than any since the days of the Revolution. And the descendants of these bloody times will read, with as much pride and little jealousy, of these battles of their fathers, as the English and Scotch descendants of the heroes of Flodden-field read of their ancestral achievements in the glowing lines of Scott, or, as the descendants of highland and lowland chiefs, allusions to their fathers' conflicts in the simple strains of the rustic Burns.

Let us live in hope, my grief-stricken brother, that the day is not far distant when Arkansas will rise from the ashes of her desolation to start on a path of higher destiny than with negro slavery she ever could have reached; while the reunited government, freed from this cankering sore, will be more vigorous and powerful, and more thrifty, opulent and happy than though the scourge of war had never desolated her fields, or made sorrowful her hearthstones.

The sooner we lay down our arms and quit this hopeless struggle, the sooner our days of prosperity will return.

I hesitated long, my fellow-citizens, before I determined to issue this address. I dislike to be abused and slandered. But, more than all, dislike to live under a cloud with those friends who have not yet reached my stand-point. And, besides, all I possess is in the Confederate lines. Their leaders will deprive my family of slaves, home, property—debts due me—in a word, reduce them from competence and ease to penury. Aside from what I have inside the Confederate lines, I could not pay for the paper this address is written upon. But it may all go. Did I desire future promotion, and could bring my conscience to it, I would do like the Johnsons; safe from bullets and hardships themselves, they assist in holding you on to this hopeless and ruinous struggle, and, at the end of the conflict, will come back and say, "*I staid with you to the last! Honor me and mine!*" God deliver me from such traitors to humanity, and to the interests of our bleeding people! To me the path of duty is plain. It is to lend my feeble aid to stop this useless effusion of blood. And, though it beggar my family, and leave me no ray of hope for the future, I shall follow it.

I have witnessed the desolation of the Southern States from one end to the other. This hopeless struggle but widens it. Each day makes new graves, new orphans, and new mourners! Each hour flings into this dreadful whirlpool more of wrecked hopes, broken fortunes and anguished hearts! The rich have mostly fallen. The poor have drank deep of the cup of sorrow, while surely, and not slowly, the tide of ruin, in its resistless surge, sweeps toward the middle classes! A few more campaigns and they will form a part of the general wreck! Each grave and each tear, each wasted fortune and broken heart, puts us that much further off from the object of the struggle, and that much further off from peace and happiness.

Viewing it thus, the terrible question was presented to me, as to whether I should continue my lot in an enterprise so fruitless and so full of woe, and help hold the masses of the people on to this terrible despotism of Davis, where only ruin awaits them, or whether I should be a quiet observer of it all, or lastly, whether I should assist in saving the remnant of you from the wreck.

I have chosen the latter. I shall send this address to every hill and corner of the State, to the citizen and soldier, at home or in prison, and shall send with it my prayers to Almighty God to arrest them in their pathway of blood and ruin. Why trust Davis longer? Had he twice our resources he would still fail. With success he would be a despot. But the whole thing is tumbling to pieces. Soldiers are leaving disgusted and disheartened, and whole States have gone back to their home in the National galaxy. Maryland and Delaware will never again be shaken. Kentucky has entrenched herself in the Union, behind a wall of bayonets in the hands of her own sturdy sons. Missouri is as firmly set in the National galaxy as Massachusetts. Tennessee, tempest-tossed and bolt-riven, under the guide of her great pilot, steers for her [illegible] mooring, and will be safely anchored before the leaves fall; while the rays of light from the old North Star flashing out fitfully from her darkness across the troubled waves, shows that she stirs, is not lost [illegible] her sisters. None of the States will ever join the South again. Then, with crippled armies—with devastated fields—with desolate cities—with disheartened soldiers, and worse than all, with weak and corrupt leaders, what hope is left to the few remaining States, but especially to poor oppressed and down-trodden Arkansas? None! Better get our brothers home while they are left to us. Open the way for the return of husbands, fathers and sons, and bind up the broken links of the old Union. The people must act to do this. I tell you now, in grief and pain, that the leaders don't care for your blood. Your sufferings move them not. The tears and wails of your anguished and bereaved ones fall on hearts of flint! While they can make a dollar or wear an epaulette, they are content. Finally, with a grief-stricken and sorrowful heart, I implore mothers, sisters, wives and daughters to assist, by all their arts, in saving their loved ones from this terrible scourge ere ruin overtakes you and them irretrievably! While God gives me strength, daunted by no peril, and swerved by no consideration of self, I shall give you my feeble aid!

FREEDOM CONVENTION OF THE SLAVE STATES.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM IN THE SLAVE STATES.

THE war which has now existed for near three years, taxing all the strength and devotion of the loyal people of this republic to suppress the rebellion, has developed no fact more striking than the necessity of assimilating all reoccupied territory before peace can be reposed upon. The intrinsic hostility between communities differing so widely in their social structure reappears constantly in the rear of our conquests with more virulence from the temporary depressions inflicted. Assimilation, and with it permanent peace, can only take place upon the doing away with that institution upon which the rebellion is predicated, and from which it derives all of its sympathy and encouragement in the loyal States. Nowhere are there now seen either men or parties embarrassing the prosecution of the war, who do not connect therewith an open hostility to all measures that tend to relieve the country of the slave system. To suppress by force this rebellion, therefore, if such a course were much more practicable than it has been found to be, and leave the cause untouched to breed other rebellions, and enkindle hereafter constant animosities ready as the present has done to appeal for solution to the arbitrament of civil war, would be national suicide. Its effects upon the several States would be even more disastrous, antagonizing them against each other necessa[illegible] which would cling so many that institution around [illegible]flict, and laying waste their fields, depopulating their villages, making all tenures of life and property utterly insecure in the subsequent strife for supremacy that would result between different classes of the community. Hence it is that an insistance upon freedom policies, both National and State, presents itself as the supremest duty of the hour—a duty not to be subordinated to any theory of the past, or any hesitancy of the present. Indeed, the making of such an issue in the reconquered territory, and in those slave States which have adhered to the Union, is one of present self-preservation to them, as has been amply demonstrated by the atrocities perpetrated under the name of guerilla warfare throughout Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, Maryland, and Kentucky, and demands a promptitude of action coincident with the distress entailed by the mere existence of a slave system in our midst. Changes which, in other days and for other reasons, might well have assumed a gradual character, now find in the perils of the times no excuse for delay, but every incitement to an immediate corrective.

To insure, however, the requisite unity and support to the friends of freedom in the slave States, it is primarily essential that the General government should adopt in its civil, no less than its military administration, a line of action that will recognize, so far as may be authorized, freedom to be the true basis of loyalty, and give to the communities involved sufficient guaranties that there will be no retrogression in the future; but, on the contrary, an effective carrying out of the principles embodied in the civil code under the Confiscation act, and in the military direction by the proclamation of January 1, 1863. This is necessary because few will be disposed to engage in the work of effecting those changes needed for any thorough assimilation or any positive uprooting of slavery, if they are to be left unsupported to reap their reward from the Slave Power, reinstated as dominant in either States or Nation. But it is to be remarked in this connection, that the General government has assumed the attitude of awaiting a full and further signification of the popular thought, and this can only be elicited by the friends of freedom throughout the slave States making such appeal to the people of the nation as will rivet their attention upon the great dangers impending, arouse them to manifestations of sympathy with the cause of human liberty, and leave no room for any doubt as to the course that should be pursued by rulers solicitous to reflect their will.

For three reasons; for the promotion of a more cordial understanding between those who concur in the necessity of adopting freedom policies; for the more effective initiation of local State organizations to accomplish the work of emancipation; and for such mutual interchange of opinions and experience as may make the teachings of the past profit in the guidance of the present, an invitation is hereby extended to the friends of freedom residing in all the slave States, to meet in mass convention at the city of Louisville, Ky., on the 8th day of January next coming.

Those favorable to such assemblage are requested to take measures in their respective districts for an attendance that will secure them representation.

Newspapers approving this call are requested to give it circulation.

Respectfully submitted,

B. GRATZ BROWN,	S. H. BOYE,
FRED. MOENCH,	BEN. LOAN,
H. T. BLOW,	C. E. MOSS,
J. W. McCLURG,	SAM. KNOX,
EMIL PRETORIUS,	JAMES LINDSAY,
	of Missouri.

THE NEW GOSPEL OF PEACE.

THE second book of this most universally popular and effective political pamphlet of the war has just appeared. Like the first book, it owes nothing to elaborate advertising or vigorous puffing. Indeed it is a remarkable fact in the history of our literature, that the first part was quietly issued, and apparently quietly ignored by the press, but gradually making itself known and felt, appeared upon every newspaper stand, and was intimately known to every circle in the country. The actual service it has wrought for the good cause is very great. Like the pamphlets of Defoe, it is not above the easy comprehension and delight of plainest people, while by its trenchant blows it commands the admiration of the most intelligent public. Our political satires hitherto have been generally beneath contempt or above general comprehension. The true wit and power of some of them have commended them indeed to the purely literary classes, but they have not commanded the interest and laughing assent of the great busy crowd of the country. The sale of the first book of The New Gospel is already prodigious, and that of the second will doubtless be like unto it. [illegible] events of the last Summer. It even al[illegible] practice of the doctrines of the New Gos[illegible] as s[illegible] the streets of New York in July. The charm of novelty is naturally wanting, but it [illegible] to us not less racy than the earlier part.

The authorship remains a secret [illegible] claims are now asserted for some source beyond Albany, p[illegible] among the fountains of the Hudson. The w[illegible] been attributed to a score of literary gentlemen [illegible] city. But the author and the publisher gu[illegible] secret well, and whoever he may be the [illegible] "New Gospel of Peace" has secured [illegible] the mem[illegible] of the war.—Ha[illegible]

FREEDMEN IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE.

Report of the Numbers and W[illegible] in the Department [illegible] the Committee Appointed [illegible] cation, Vicksburg Miss., Oct.

YOUR Committee beg leave to rep[illegible] quiry as [illegible] short time [illegible] Government [illegible] burg, the following [illegible]

First—Numbers.

N[illegible] these about ten thousand are within twelve miles of Vicksburg, of whom only five hundred are men, except those enlisted in the army, the balance being women and children, who are entirely dependent on government or charity for support—the able-bodied being enlisted in the army, or employed as cooks, grooms and teamsters, is the cause of this inequality. Of the 9,000 near Goodrich's Landing, La., 7,000 have been employed on abandoned plantations. The government agents cultivating these pay the men $10 a month, including $3 in clothing; the women $7, two of which in clothing; children between the ages of twelve and fifteen years, half-price; rations provided for all. Those under the age of twelve are not required to work in the field, but are to have the privilege of schools. Rebel raids on the leased plantations last year destroyed the crops of many planters, and consequently the uncertainty of securing their crops did not justify the promise of larger wages at present, or such as will gladly be paid when these calamities are passed. Beside these thousands under the supervision of government agents, there are many trying to support themselves, living as they can in vacant houses and hovels.

Second—Health.

That there has been fearful mortality among the freedmen, both the enlisted soldiers and the camps of the infirm, we have agonizingly felt.

The causes appear to us to be:

1. Being congregated in great numbers in camps and lodges, without suitable employment or regular exercise.

2. Unusual and unhealthy food; the sudden change from corn bread to wheaten; sometimes overeating and painful destitution of suitable nourishment, especially for the sick.

3. Change of water. Cistern water is usually drank in Southern cities and on plantations. Deprived of this, the fugitives have, of necessity, drank the waters of the Mississippi, or from springs in malarious districts. Added to these, almost entire destitution of physicians and medicines.

4. Miserable apologies for tents or shelter to protect them from the heat of the day and the dews and storms of the night; and the fact that, driven from their homes with only garments almost worn out, they have suffered from cold already, some even unto death, and hence the living are wholly unprepared for the chilling winds and storms of Autumn and Winter.

Third—Employment.

Several thousands of the strong men are now soldiers in the United States army, and are doing good service as soldiers. Others are cultivating plantations of the government, as we have already shown, and some have done well raising cotton and corn for those [illegible] wood, and the contractors pay both men and women suitable wages for this work. At present, thousands are too sick and feeble for military duty, or for work, and must be clothed and fed and nursed chiefly by the government or charity of individuals; or he left, as the man who fell among thieves was, by the Priest and the Levite, to die of want. What good Samaritan will come to pour oil and wine into their wounds?

Fourth—Schools.

These have been commenced at Memphis, Corinth, Island No. 10, Helena and this place. One of 185 scholars is opened in Vicksburg by two missionaries of the "United Brethren in Christ," of the State of Indiana. In all these schools young and old manifest much enthusiasm and determination to learn, and one of our sources of grief now is that when they ask daily for their spelling-books and primers, we are obliged to say, "Our stock is gone, and those on their way to us, or ordered by us, have not yet come." Schools, to some extent, will be taught by colored men, and self-supported, under the advice and aid of white friends.

These facts coming to our eyes and ears, lead us, in reply to questions coming daily from the benevolent at the North, to appeal to them, and to the agents, military and civil, of our government, to meet these wants at once, by sending to them:

1. Suitable and strong garments for women and children, under and outer, including shoes, strong and new.

2 Providing them houses or tents that will shelter them from the cold.

3. Healthful and nutritious food, adding to the government rations that the sick and infirm may need, as a donation, or by sale to such as can buy.

4. Send them physicians who love their souls and know how to minister to their bodies, well supplied with medicines, from government or otherwise, especially with simple herbs, on which they have so long relied, and which they crave as the miser does gold.

5. Preachers, school teachers and primary school-books, are an absolute necessity for the mental and moral training of those whose yoke God has broken by his own strong hand, and has committed to the care of the lovers of their country and their fellow-men; and now, pointing to them, afflicted, tossing, fainting, dying, says: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor"; "The poor ye have always with you"; and commands, "Feed my sheep"; "If you love me, feed my lambs"; and will say, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me."

Respectfully submitted.

J. COLES,
Chaplain Thirty-first Illinois Volunteer Infantry.
JEREMIAH PORTER,
Chaplain First Illinois Light Infantry.
T. M. STEVENSON,
Chaplain Seventy-eighth Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

AS YOU WERE.

THE gentleman who calls mad rioters and assassins his friends, lately said in a public speech that spite of the Vice-President we will have the Union-as-it-was. His friends responded with "tremendous applause." But in one or two little points, perhaps, the Union will not be so much as-it-was in the palmy days of Buchanan as in those of Washington.

For instance, in the Union-as-it-was ten years ago, Mr. Horatio Seymour, of New York, could go into Carolina or Georgia and say what he pleased of public affairs, and Mr. William H. Seward, of New York, his equal fellow-citizen, could not. In the Union-as-it-will-be, and as-it-was when it was made, Mr. Horatio Seymour will have no privilege which Mr. Seward has not.

Then in the Union-as-it-was two years ago chattel slavery existed in several of the States. But in the Union-as-it-was-meant-to-be by the fathers, and in the Union-as-it-will-be, there will be no chattel slavery in those States.

Again, in the Union-as-it-was when Mr. Seymour was for the first time Governor of New York, and gave Miss Murray, Victoria's lady of honor, those charming views of the delights of slavery which she reproduced in her book, it was enough to secure great reputation as a "national statesman," that a man should become the nimble lackey of slavery. In the Union-as-it-will-be the test of nationality will be devotion to liberty and equal rights, and not to the interest of an aristocratic party.

The Union-as-it-was in the days of Washington, according to Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, was made by men who believed that slavery was dying out. The Union-as-it-was in the days of Buchanan, Toucey, Cobb, Floyd, and Thompson, was officered by men who were resolved that slavery should live and grow. *That* is the Union which our worthy Governor says he means to have. The Union-as-it-was-[illegible] is that for which Vice-President Hamlin pro[illegible]ces. Do wise men think that the country will fo[illegible]w Vallandigham, Seymour, and Fernando Wood, [illegible] Washington, Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln.—"[illegible] Lounger," in Harper's Weekly.

HIRED LABOR ON SOUTHERN PLANTATIONS.

REPORT BY ADJT.-GEN. THOMAS [illegible] OBSERVATIONS—GREAT [illegible]

[illegible]EZ, Miss., Oct. [illegible]5, 1863.

[illegible]: I recently passed a few days at Goodrich's Landing, Louisiana, [illegible] miles above Vicksburg, one of my purposes being to ascertain the condition of the head plantations—to wha[illegible] the cultivation of cotton had been carried [illegible] to know whether the cultivation of [illegible]d not be carried on as well by hired f[illegible] by slaves. The gathering of cotton is now [illegible]ration, and it may be too soon to report [illegible]sult. But the facts in my possession are sufficient [illegible] a judgment on the experiment as previously [illegible]ted. The season had advanced fully two months [illegible] the time cotton should have been planted, wh[illegible] was unavoidable, though the system was put [illegible] operation [illegible] my coming [illegible] was pos[illegible] great [illegible] them had first to run the furrow to plant the seed, then plant their corn, relying on subsequent time to break up the ground between the furrows of cotton and exterminate the weeds. The necessity of withdrawing the troops from Louisiana to augment the forces operating against Vicksburg kept the line of plantations, some 60 in all, without adequate protection when the rebels made the attack on Milliken's Bend, where they were signally defeated, and made raids on the plantations, scattering and driving off the negroes and stock. This occurred at the time when it was important to cultivate the crops. Some time elapsed before the hands could be collected and be induced to recommence work. The consequence was, fully one-half of the crops were not worked at all, and in other cases, where some work was done, the weeds and plants had to grow up together, the ill weed overtopping the cotton plant. The army-worm attacked all the late cotton, destroying from one-fourth to a third of the crop. Still, under all these disadvantages, not one of the lessees will lose money, but all derive a profit. I know that they are satisfied with the experiment; all desire the re-lease for another year. The negro lessees, of whom there are some 15, will make from four or five bales up to, in one case, 150, and it is a fact that the cotton they have raised for themselves, owing to better cultivation, is of a higher grade than that of the white lessees. Some of the negroes have cultivated by themselves and families, while others have employed their fellow-freedmen. The freedmen have all worked for wages according to a scale fixed upon by the Board of Commissioners, and at a higher rate, I understand, than was adopted in the Department of the Gulf. They have been well and more abundantly fed than they were when held in slavery. Schools have been established upon the plantations, and the lessees have felt it a duty by every proper means to elevate this unfortunate race. As a general rule, they greatly prefer working with Northern men, whom they regard as their friends, to working with Southerners, even their former owners, and I hazard nothing in saying that the net proceeds on a crop by a Northerner who has paid his hands wages will exceed that of a Southerner who has cultivated by slaves, the number of acres being the same in both cases. Those employed have thus been of no expense to the government, but have supported themselves and families. They are perfectly contented, and look forward with hope to future elevation of character. The experiments, adopted hastily and from necessity with many misgivings, I now regard a complete success. The number of bales of cotton raised on these plantations will not much, if any, fall short of 8,000 bales, giving to the government some $150,000 of revenue. The lessees will also pay to the Quartermaster's Department, for mules, utensils, etc., fur[illegible] places some $100,000. The government share on some few plantations abandoned by the lessees may sell for $150,000. I desire this money, or as much as may be necessary, set aside as a fund necessary to pay the expenses of this year, and of the year commencing January 1, 1864.

It is a significant fact that while transports on the river have been frequently fired into by the rebels, not a single shot has been fired from that line of the river covered by leased plantations, extending for 75 miles above Vicksburg, which shows the importance to commerce of lining the river with a loyal population.

I have, sir, the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, L. THOMAS, Adjt.-Gen.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Sec. of War.

LOYALTY AND DISLOYALTY IN TENNESSEE.

Correspondence of The Cincinnati Gazette.

WASHINGTON, November 3.

THE condition and wants of Tennessee—and, as is probable, of two or three other slave States also—are so strikingly portrayed in a letter which to-day's mail brought me from Memphis, that I cannot do better than give the main portion of it to the public. The writer is a native of West Tennessee, has lived there nearly all his life, has been a slaveholder and pro-slavery man, and is thoroughly acquainted with the character, prejudices and temper of the people. In addition, I know him to be a gentleman of cool, sound judgment, and of unswerving loyalty. He says:

MEMPHIS, TENN., Oct. 25.

"MY DEAR R.: * * * * * * Society in the South, wherever I have come in contact with it, is yet a seething cauldron, and I feel satisfied that more energetic treatment than any yet adopted will be necessary to eradicate the political disease that afflicts the land. Especially is this the case in regard to the State of Tennessee. *Here*, the fiat of the Almighty in regard to slavery was suspended in mid-heaven by the President's limited proclamation of freedom. An "irrepressible conflict" is the result, in the breast of every slaveholder or pro-slavery man. And this latter class it is fair to presume constitutes yet a large majority of the population of Tennessee. The consequence is that no decided sentiments are developed in the State, and no sharp party lines can be drawn. They are all "cow boys" here, studying if by any means they can escape emancipation and confiscation.

The slaveholder and his friends say: "Let us be as good Union men as we can be under a Republican Administration—let us go for the 'Constitution as it is,' and in this way our 'peculiar institution' will be preserved to us and our children forever." The fact that the President's proclamation spares their slaves inclines them to praise him faintly sometimes, but they freely admit that they do not trust him, and will do all they can to have him succeeded by a Democrat next year. As for Mr. Chase and the school he represents, let them be *anathema maranatha!* Such is the *prevailing* type of Tennessee Unionism. You see it has its vitality and existence in the hope and expectation of saving the system of African slavery. If the Union army should be driven back and the Confederate power reëstablished in Tennessee, it would be hailed with delight; because the people would say: "Under the Confederacy we *know* we can save our slaves."

What is to be done with a people thus watching the death struggle of the nation—ready to join either side, whichever may be the stronger, it so be they may hold on to a parcel of "niggers"? This condition of things is degrading and debasing the sentiments of the people, making them incapable of any high sense of national honor, and converting them into unprincipled and cowardly mercenaries and cow-boys.

There is but one way to put a stop to this evil, and bring the population up to full sympathy with the tremendous issues of the conflict; and that is, *pierce slavery through and through*, and let it die. *Then* the hour of temporizing will be past, the tottering fabric of a false society will be brought level to the ground, and the people of the State will lay their foundations securely on Freedom, and begin to build anew. *There will be—there can be—no improvement in Tennessee until the thing is done.* Entire peace and reorganized society are impossible until slavery is destroyed. The President only protracts the agony by withholding his fiat.

"What pretext can the President find for a new proclamation wiping out slavery in Tennessee?" He has not merely pretexts, but abundant causes, every day. He would have been justified in issuing a proclamation after the battle of Chicamauga, as a defensive measure. He would be justified in issuing on any day as a punitive measure for the incessant raiding, conscripting and guerilla operations prevailing in Middle and West Tennessee, which the Union (!) population makes no single effort to suppress. The grounds on which the President *spared* Tennessee in his proclamation of Freedom, were its supposed Unionism and preparedness to return to immediate loyalty. That expectation has been grievously disappointed; every day we have evidence that the Federal power is despised and rejected by the armed hordes in all parts of the State; and the people do not rise to resent it. No better grounds could exist for the final decree of the President, extinguishing the institution which, beyond all question, thus keeps alive the disloyalty of the State, and paralyzes the equivocal Unionism to be found here.

Cannot the President be brought to appreciate this state of things and strike? Let him do it the very next time he hears of a guerilla movement in the State; or, the moment a raid threatens the communications of the Army of the Cumberland. I can assure you that there are hundreds of *unconditional Union men* of my acquaintance in West Tennessee, who will not declare their sentiments or take an active part in the return of the State to the Union as long as *slavery* is left as a living serpent to strike at them. It is hard enough to fight local prejudices and bear the reproach of sympathizing with the "Yankee government" without meeting the venom of the original Copperhead—African slavery [illegible] its wounds and tumid with rage and poison. Kill the serpent that crawls and strikes beneath, and free labor and free thought will quickly build up the edifice of free government in Tennessee, and fling out the stars and stripes from its glittering dome.

If these suggestions of mine can reach the President (who knows me) with any prospect of doing good, you are welcome to use them. But otherwise they are for your private edification only.

Truly your friend.

The "suggestions" will be duly laid before the President, but meantime there are many, I think, who will be glad to share the "private edification" with me.

AGATE.

THE OLD GAG.

WE all owe Mr. Beecher our gratitude for the pleasant and plucky way in which he battled with the mob in Liverpool, Manchester, and London. His perfect self-possession, his readiness, his jovial wit, gave him the victory throughout. Another orator might have withered the mob with sarcasm, but he melted them with humor. He turned the laugh against them. He parried their blows, and at the same time struck home. There is no public speaker in the country so well fitted to do what he has done as Mr. Beecher, and the work he has begun in England will doubtless be continued by others, until a profound and powerful impression is made upon British common sense.

It surprises many that Mr. Beecher had to confront the mob in England, since he and all men of his views can now speak freely here at home. But the spirit against which he speaks, and against which the people of this country fight, is always and everywhere the same. Whether it is hanging a man in Georgia for saying that God made all men free, or burning a slave in Carolina because he is trying to seize his liberty, or murdering a man or child in New York, because of their color, or by a "respectable mob" stifling discussion in Boston, or trying to stifle it in Liverpool, Manchester, or London, slavery is the same old tyrant, to whom free speech is as dangerous as a match to gunpowder, and which always seeks victory by brute force.

In this country we have had enough of this kind of tyranny. Under the Constitution we have discovered that no one man's opinions are any more sacred than another's. If Southerners like slavery, they may say so. If Northerners hate it, they may so; and the Constitution protects each in the expression of his views. In the celebrated Union-as-it-was, which it seems we are going to have spite of the Vice-President, it was quite the [illegible] But in the Union [illegible] Nor bold mouth on British soil! Of course, every man knows that it is the American pimps and panderers of slavery in England who, suborning a few natives of their own kind, endeavored to stop, by threats and open riot, the meetings which Mr. Beecher addressed. The old serpent dies hard. But its head being under the heel of civilization, religion, common sense, and common humanity, whether it dart its poison in a great rebellion, or wriggle in a riot, or hiss in Copperhead speeches at home, and brawling interruption of public meetings abroad, its convulsions are but the throes of death.—"*The Lounger*," in *Harper's Weekly*.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE VACATED LANDS?

From The St. Louis Democrat.

THE following letter from a prominent officer in our army, now in the South, a graduate of West Point, and a man of comprehensive views, will be read with much interest. It opens up a subject of vast importance to the public—one which deserves far more attention than it has received. As the views of the writer are clearly and ably expressed, it is unnecessary for us to add anything by way of recommendation:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT NORTHEAST LOUISIANA, GOODRICH'S LANDING,
October 9, 1863.

Hon. HENRY T. BLOW, *St. Louis, Mo.*

DEAR SIR: I write to you as my friend and as a public man, taking interest in whatever concerns the public good. There is an immense gold field down here, and nobody appears to know it. I want it thrown open to the people, so the people can work in it. I refer to the many abandoned plantations from Helena, Arkansas, to Natchez, Louisiana. The owners, most of them, have fled with their negroes to Texas and elsewhere, leaving land that should be occupied. During this year some of the plantations have been worked by Northern men, by hiring negro labor. But few leases were given, as it was late in the season when the idea of cultivation was thought of. Three commissioners were appointed by Gen. Thomas, who gave the leases. The plan was the best that could be adopted on the spur of the moment. What leases were given expire in February next, and then I want to see a large laboring population from the North come down here and fill up the country. I lived at Fort Kearney during two gold excitements. One was California, the other Pike's Peak. I saw the great numbers of people that moved there to dig for gold. The gold got there was nothing to what can be made by coming to this country. Let the prospect be advertised in the newspapers of the West, that every man coming down here can have eighty or two hundred acres of cotton land, according to his means for working it, to work for one year. Two hundred acres of land means two hundred bales of cotton, the nett price of which in New York will be forty thousand dollars. If eighty acres, it will be sixteen thousand dollars. With hired labor cotton can be raised at five cents per pound, which gives a profit of forty-five cents per pound, nett. No farmer in the North ever dreamed of such profit; and if the advantages of coming here were known, they would flock down here by thousands. This matter should be brought to the notice of government. You will naturally say the Commissioners appointed are the ones to do it, if it has anything to recommend it; but I am sorry to say the interests of the Commissioners are opposed to the plan, as they are interested in plantations themselves, and next year wish to make leases of large tracts to one person or persons of large capital, who may hire others to look after their business. I want the men of moderate means, our Western laborers, here. They will be a militia to take care of the country, and our troops can go elsewhere. The persons who cultivate the next cotton crop are the ones who will buy the land here. Shall this land be distributed among a few and in large tracts, or is it not to the interest of our government and our people that it should be owned in small tracts? The first way is what the Commissioners would have, for they will be extensive purchasers. On this question they are perfectly rotten; and for the good of our country, and to rebuke selfishness, I want to head them off. For the good of the slaves freed by Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, I wish it, for to a great extent the ground will be tilled by their labor; and I want a large population of white people here, so their labor will be in demand and be respected, and combinations of a few capitalists cannot be made against them. We have uprooted one aristocracy here; let us not establish by our own act one of another kind. The question of title to the land must not make time? a man who is thinking to come here. The cultivation for one year is enough to induce him to come. A man that takes only eighty acres can go back home at the end of the year with at least eight thousand dollars in his pocket—would [illegible] make [illegible] at home? See what you can do towards sending the thousands to our gold fields, and locating a large population on the banks of the Mississippi river. [illegible] Secretary Chase on the subject. Any man who has seen the emigrants going to California and Pike's peak knows the inducements and recommendation for coming here. Every officer I have spoken to on the subject favors it. Those who want to plant largely and be the future [illegible]? Now is the time to change the destiny of this country. I hope you will work favorably and immediately for it.

Yours truly.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1863.

CELEBRATION OF THE THIRD DECADE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in the city of New York, in May last, it was unanimously

Resolved, That in accordance with usage, and from [illegible] fitness it is proper that the completion of another Decade of the Society's existence should be marked by a special public meeting devoted to a general review and survey of the cause; and that [illegible] this Society, when it adjourns on this occasion, will adjourn to meet in the city of Philadelphia, on the third day of December next, then and there to celebrate in an appropriate manner, the thirtieth—and we would fain hope the final—anniversary of its formation.

In accordance with this vote, the Executive Committee hereby announce that the THIRD DECADE of the Society will be held in Philadelphia, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, Dec. 3d and 4th, 1863.

Historically, it will be an occasion of thrilling interest and joyous congratulation, unequalled in the eventful career of the Society since its formation. Unquestionably, it will be largely attended by the friends of universal liberty, representing every section of the country loyal to the government. Who among them will need any stronger appeal than the simple announcement of the fact to induce him to be present, if circumstances should permit? Let them make their arrangements accordingly. "Whosoever will, let him come"—come in the spirit of Justice and love—come as remembering those in bonds as bound with them—come as one abhorring 'the guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man'—come to put down the rebellion by helping to exterminate the hideous system from which it has legitimately sprung!

A strong array of able and eloquent speakers will be in attendance.

[Further particulars hereafter.]

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS,
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, } *Secretaries.*

GEORGE THOMPSON.

WE are sure that we shall give nothing but satisfaction to any of our readers, and the most sincere pleasure to most of them, when we announce that there is a speedy probability of seeing this faithful friend of the American slave once more among us. Every one who reads THE STANDARD knows how great are the obligations of the anti-slavery cause to him, on both sides of the Atlantic, while those of them who have had the happiness of his personal acquaintance will rejoice at the prospect of seeing his face once more. He may reckon on the warmest welcome which gratitude for his public services and the warmest friendship for his person can afford him. He has for some time contemplated this his third visit to this country; but its uncertainty made it advisable to withhold the announcement of its possibility. Now we believe that it is as certain [illegible] and that he may be looked for in the course of the next month. We regret to learn that it is not likely that he can arrive in season for the Decade Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia. His presence on that occasion would give it an added interest, and be another motive for a large attendance on the part of its members and friends. But we trust that his visit will be long enough to enable him to renew all his old friendships, which the casualties of life have left him, and to form new ones with the younger generation who have come forward even since his last visit twelve or thirteen years ago.

We think that we speak within bounds when we say that there is no living man to whom the emancipated slaves, everywhere, will owe a greater debt of gratitude than to Mr. Thompson, after every bond shall have been broken. For his charity in behalf of the black man began at home. In the great agitation which preceded and compelled the emancipation of the West Indian slaves he bore a prominent and effectual part. The first fruits of his great talents as a public debater and platform speaker were laid upon the altar of West Indian freedom. When that was successfully achieved he did not regard his work as done. He looked beyond the boundaries of the British Empire and saw four times as many human beings still pining in chains within the domain of the daughter land as he had helped to set free in that of the mother country. He heard the voice of the American slave calling to him, as the Man of Macedonia did in vision to the Apostle, "Come over and help us!" And he was not disobedient to the entreaty. He came to the help of the American Anti-Slavery movement in the day of its small things, and he did much towards building it up to the day of its great things. In the performance of this duty, he literally took his life in his hand. The malignity of the spite with which he was pursued by the pro-slavery press, and the murderous violence with which he was hunted by the pro-slavery mobs of 1835, are hardly credible even by those whose memory runneth back to those evil times. It is generally known that the Boston mob of October [illegible] in that year, was raised and directed against "the Englishman Thompson," and only accidentally directed against Mr. Garrison. Had Mr. Thompson been found, his life would not have been worth an hour's purchase. Such was the demoniac fury of that time that he had to leave the country privily to escape those who were lying in wait to slay him. But during the year of his abode among us at that time, his fresh and glowing eloquence was heard by gathering multitudes in the remotest districts, and helped largely to create that solid foundation of hatred to slavery which is the *fulcrum* on which the moral, political and military levers rest which are to heave [illegible] off the conscience of the nation.

Returned to England, in whatever position he found himself, in Parliament or on the platform of other reforms, he never failed in his fidelity to the American slave and to the friends of the slave. And in the year 187[illegible] he revisited our shores once again, and did an excellent work in the anti-slavery field of that day. But it is the service he has rendered the country, since the breaking out of the rebellion, which form the latest and strongest claims to our gratitude. The value of those services can hardly be over-estimated, and we apprehend that there is no man in England to whom the preservation of peaceful relations with this country is more due than to Mr. Thompson. Though he has not made himself prominent in the measures he has promoted, preferring to put forward others whose general influence might be greater than his, we believe that the revival of the Anti-Slavery sentiment of England, politically and religiously, has been largely owing to his untiring exertions. For such service there is no man on the Eastern continent so well qualified. His knowledge of American affairs at large, and in particular wherever they are complicated with slavery, is absolutely [illegible]. We are certain that there is no man in Europe and we believe that there are but very few in America, so thoroughly well informed on American affairs as he. Thoroughly acquainted with all the machinery of English government and society, he has been able to use the exact appliances necessary for the accomplishment of the particular necessity of each critical moment of our affairs in England. That there was a strong, overbearing disposition on the part of the governing classes there to throw the weight of England on the side of the rebellion, no one can doubt who has kept an eye on the press and the public speeches of that country. Had those malign influences prevailed, and the blockade been broken, if not the independence of the Confederacy recognized, what a fearful difference it would have made in the present aspect of our affairs. That predisposition on the part of the landed interest, the manufacturers, the great lawyers, the merchants, and almost all that is potential in English politics, could only be counteracted by the counteracting public opinion of the middling and lower classes, of the dissenting interest, of the conscience and religious sense of the underlying masses. We believe that no man has known so well how to direct the machinery necessary to arouse these powers into action, and to give them a right direction, as Mr. Thompson. And what he has known to do he has done and done well.

We hold, therefore, that Mr. Thompson deserves a grateful and warm reception, should he accomplish his visit, not only from the Abolitionists, but from all who estimate aright the importance of the neutrality of England at the most urgent crisis of our [illegible] caused the adoption of neutrality as the settled policy of the government, is an equally well ascertained fact. And for the strength, the directness, the adaptedness of those demonstrations to the particular emergency, we have very largely to thank Mr. Thompson. We trust, therefore, that all Republicans, all War Democrats, all loyal men of every name, may unite with the Abolitionists in giving this true friend of America such a welcome as his great services have earned for him. And it would be a fitting reward for his life-long service to the American slaves, could his eyes be blest with the sight of their final and complete Emancipation.

MR. BEECHER'S RETURN.

HENRY WARD BEECHER was a passenger in the steamer Asia, which arrived in Boston on Saturday. He reached his home in Brooklyn early on Monday morning, coming through in the night train, thus avoiding the excitement which he would have been compelled to encounter at any other time, and taking his family and friends by surprise. He is in fine health and spirits, and will at once resume his pulpit and pastoral labors.

At Liverpool, on the day previous to his departure, the Emancipation Society gave him a Farewell Breakfast, at which a party of 200 ladies and gentlemen were present. The chair was occupied by Mr. C. Wilson, who delivered a congratulatory speech to Mr. Beecher, to which the latter made a felicitous and eloquent response. We can give only the closing passage:

"For the sake of civilization; for the sake of those glories of the Christian Church on earth which are dearer to me than all that I know; for the sake of Him whose blood I bear about, a perpetual cleansing, a perpetual cloud of strength and stimulation; for the sake of time and for the glories of eternity, I shall plead that mother and daughter, England and America, be found one in heart and one in purpose, following the bright banner of salvation, as, streaming abroad in the light of the morning, it goes round and round the earth, carrying the prophecy and the fulfilment together that 'The earth shall be the Lord's,' and that His glory shall fill it as the waters cover the sea (loud and prolonged cheering). And now my hours are moments, but I linger because it is pleasant. You have made yourselves so kind to me that my heart clings to you. I leave not strangers any longer—I leave friends behind (loud cheers). I shall probably never at my time of life—I [illegible] more; but I shall never cease to see her. I shall never speak any more here, but I shall never cease to be heard in England as long as I live (cheers). Three thousand miles is not as wide now as your hand. The air is one great sounding gallery. What you whisper in your closet is heard in the infinite depths of heaven; what you do in your pulpits in England we hear in America, and what we do in our pulpits you hear and feel here; and so it shall be more and more. Across the sea, that is, as it were, but a rivulet, we shall stretch out hands of greeting to you, and speak words of peace and fraternal love. Let us not fail to hear 'Amen,' and the responsive greeting, whenever we call to you in fraternal love for liberty—for religion—for the Church of God. Farewell." (The reverend gentleman resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic applause).

At the close of this speech, an address of fraternity from the Welsh Non-compromists, was read to Mr. Beecher. The original was in Welsh, and in accepting it, Mr. Beecher said: "I understand every word that you speak, and I take you for every word, although I cannot, in looking on these in this address, recognize one single one of them except my own name, which stands in English. That is just the way I stand; for, sir, I am more than pleased to say that I owe no inconsiderable part of myself to the Welsh blood that is in my veins (cheers). Mary Roberts was my great-great-grandmother (loud cheers). She was as full-blooded a Welsh woman as ever loved sound theology and good nature (cheers). How much I owe to her, I have never yet been able to divine (laughter); but this I certainly owe to her, that whenever I see a Welsh man or a Welsh woman I can say, "Kindred, thou art of mine"; and that when I receive this welcome and fraternal expression of your feelings, it may be said more than in a figure, that it comes home, and that it is the Welsh speaking to the Welsh that is in me. I thank you, sir" (loud applause).

Mr. Beecher received a welcome from the members of his Church and congregation, in the form of a Sunday School Festival, on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. Plymouth Church, Lecture Room, etc., were elaborately decorated in evergreen and flowers for the occasion, and the building was thronged with people. Helmsmuller's Germania Band furnished music for the occasion. On Tuesday evening Mr. Beecher made an address, the principal portion of which we copy:

SPEECH OF REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Even if it had been expected, I could not make a speech to-night, for there are occasions in which the only expression one can give is that of silence. It is only six months since I have stood here, but I can truly say that there has not been a day—I might almost say, not an hour, in which I have not [illegible] accession to the pleasure of foreign travel and various experience by backward-running thoughts that I have carried you with me, and have been borne up everywhere by these [illegible], and by that affection which never dies. I know not how it might have been in years, for time wears away at last the very stones, but certainly in so short a time as six months I not only have lost no quickening of affection, but have gained. And, though I have had uninterrupted prosperity—scarcely a cloudy day on the shore—although in England, and France, and Switzerland, and Northern Italy, and Germany and Belgium, where it pleased God to carry my feet—in all those places, though I have had prosperity day by day and night by night, I have not stood in a city or on a mountain top nor in any gallery of pictures, nor among loveliest landscapes, that I was not home-sick. Not for a single moment have I thought backward without yearning and longing to be back again; and I say the truth—I lie not—I love this place, and this people, and this work, beyond all other things under the sun (tremendous applause.)

My first experience of foreign travel was in old England. We can all adopt the words, I think, of Cowper, and none so much as those who have been there.

"England, with all thy faults, I love thee still."

(Great applause). Nothing was more charming to me on leaving that arid ocean which some insane persons are pleased to praise—nothing struck me so much as the green fields, green trees, and exquisite lawns and plantations of England. And I wandered up and down through the midland counties, passing from east to west as far as I had leisure and opportunity, with pleasure that knew no abatement, but that grew with the hours. From thence I went into France, by way of Havre, Rouen, Paris, seeing, of course, the country, looking at the people, for I was denied any other privilege of intercourse than that (laughter), studying what could be studied by a superficial glance, glad to see Paris, gladder yet to leave it (laughter). I traversed the beautiful and vine-clad country between Paris and Strasbourg, and Lucerne, that sits like a jewel in the brow of the loveliest of valleys in Switzerland; and then that glorious three weeks experience in those ordained mountains on which God has laid his hand, and they are pure and white forever more—three such memorable weeks in Switzerland. The best wish I can give to you for mere physical and worldly things is may you live to go to Switzerland where good Americans [illegible]. And, then, out of Switzerland, which is so transcendently beautiful, a [illegible] man so wretched, [illegible] of all wretched creatures I think I saw none more so than the Swiss: for although there are parts of Switzerland where men are noble, there are valleys and regions through which the traveller is called to pass, where human life seems to me to be imprisonment and a drudgery, where disease devastates the understanding, where toil makes people prematurely old, where children are born a hundred years old, but altogether in the Scripture meaning of the term: where one is said to see a maiden because she is behind her, closer than her own shadow, is that of decrepit womanhood that is dishonored and looks so wretched. From Switzerland, so glorious in physical things and, with my experience, so sad in human things, I passed over to rejuvenating Italy. I was happier the moment I was on the further side of the Mt. Blanc pass. There is a glorious future for Italy. There is a splendid people: they have a grand stock; there is stamina there, and they need only education, religion and liberty to make again one of the people of the world. As I said at every league, All hail to Italy! (Applause.) And so I passed on from waking and living Northern Italy through Piedmont till I struck the Austrian dominions, and then slumber fell upon that fair land; and in Venice, the city dreamed of the past and despaired of the future, and I was as one in a dream, full of glorious memories and full of a wretched present. Thence I retraced my steps turning north into Tyrol, with a Catholic population, yet simple and patriarchal, presenting many of the most interesting spectacles that I observed in all my foreign travels, and rapidly through Germany, touching principally the capitals and cities, that I might see the creations of art, to Belgium, and back to England; and let me say that when at last I struck the shore of England again, although I had received displeasure when I was there in the foreign last Summer, I breathed freer, and said, "After all, thank God for England" (applause); for there is, with their rugged faults, with their wrong-headedness, with the many things that just at this crisis offend us in their national character—not that which is as among the French and many Continental nations—not that which is so prepossessing, so polished—in England [illegible] loved her still better—not her wrong-headedness, not that corruption among her commercial classes which is the parallel of the corruption in our own country in years past, by barbarous interests through slavery, but the better England. I appeal from England misinformed to England better informed and rested.

When I landed at last upon our shores I felt as every one of you has always felt that has been abroad. I have reached, after all, the clime and the land and the people that I most love; I am back again, it is home. There is no other word in our tongue, no expression in the English language, that can give expression to the feelings which one has, after many days and months of absence, again to greet his native land, and be brought back in health; to have all that I had left still preserved to me, so soon after my arrival to be greeted by this goodly pleasure, to feel that I am in the home of homes, in the midst of my own brethren and the church where I have for so many years labored; this is joy upon joy, and I am devoutly thankful, and here in the presence of the Lord and among his people, I record my thanksgiving and my vows of fidelity for the future. I thank you for your kindness, I ask your remembrance of me not only in love toward me, but in love toward that cause that we both serve. Pray for me, with me; labor with me, that at last we may together enter into that rest which hath no sea and no earthly disturbance, where all shall be peace forever" (loud and enthusiastic applause).

THE PRESIDENT'S HYMN.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: Inclosed you will find a hymn written by our beloved and revered fellow-citizen, Dr. Muhlenberg, founder of St. Luke's Hospital, and writer of the immortal hymn, "I would not live alway." Will you not give it a place in your columns, and use your editorial influence to induce our people throughout the loyal States to sing it in the churches on the approaching Thanksgiving, as "The President's Hymn"?

It has a right to that designation. It is, as a comparison of the two will prove, a metrical version of the President's proclamation, which this year, for the first time, makes our "Harvest Home" a national festival—a significant and blessed augury of that "more perfect Union" with which, with God's blessing, the war shall leave us as a people.

Solicitous to have the highest authority given to the use of this National hymn, I obtained the reluctant consent of its writer (author also of the music to which it is set) to ask our Chief Magistrate's permission to style it [illegible] through whom the [illegible] me a few hours afterward the President's leave, in the decisive style which has now become so familiar to our people—"Let it be so called." May we not hope that millions of our people will, on November 26, be found uniting in this National Psalm of Thanksgiving, and that "The President's Hymn" will be the household and the temple song of that solemn and joyful day? It will help to join our hearts as citizens, thus to blend our voices as worshippers; and the blessings of Union, Liberty and Peace will sooner descend on a people that can thus unite in its praise and hosannahs.

Respectfully yours, HENRY W. BELLOWS.

GIVE THANKS ALL YE PEOPLE.

Give thanks, all ye people, give thanks to the Lord,
Alleluias of freedom, with joyful accord:
Let the East and the West, North and South roll along,
Sea, mountain and prairie, one thanksgiving song.

Chorus after each verse:

Give thanks, all ye people, give thanks to the Lord,
Alleluias of freedom, with joyful accord.

For the sunshine and rainfall, enriching again
Our acres in myriads, with treasures of grain;
For the Earth still unloading her manifold wealth,
For the Skies beaming vigor, the Winds breathing health,
Give thanks, etc.—

For the Nation's wide table, o'erflowingly spread,
Where the many have feasted, and all have been fed,
With no bondage, their God-given rights to enthrall,
But liberty guarded by Justice for all:
Give thanks, etc.—

In the realms of the Anvil, the Loom, and the Plow,
Whose the mines and the fields, to Him gratefully bow;
His the flocks and the herds, sing ye hill-side and vales;
On His Ocean domains chant His name with the gales.
Give thanks, etc.—

Of commerce and traffic, ye princes, behold
Your riches from Him Whose the silver and gold,
Happier children of Labor, true lords of the soil,
Bless the Great Master-Workman, who blesseth your toil,
Give thanks, etc.—

Brave men of our forces, Life-guard of our coasts,
To your Leader be loyal, Jehovah of Hosts:
Glow the Stripes and the Stars aye with victory bright,
Reflecting His glory—He crowneth the Right.
Give thanks, etc.—

Nor shall ye through our borders, ye stricken of heart,
Only wailing your dead, in the joy have no part:
God's solace be yours, and for you there shall flow
All that honor and sympathy's gifts can bestow.
Give thanks, etc.—

In the Domes of Messiah—ye worshipping throngs,
Solemn thanks mingle with jubilant songs;
The Ruler of Nations beseeching to spare,
And our Empire still keep the Elect of His care.
Give thanks, etc.—

Our guilt and transgressions remember no more;
Peace, Lord! righteous Peace, of Thy gift we implore:
And the Banner of Union, restored by Thy hand,
Be the Banner of Freedom o'er All the Land.
And the Banner of Union, etc.
Give thanks, etc.—

Copies of "The President's Hymn" can be had at $2 a hundred, of A. D. F. Randolph, publisher, No. 683 Broadway. Churches, by ordering a few hundred, can have the Hymn (with which the music is printed) sung by the whole congregation. Profits of the sale devoted to the Sanitary Commission.

New York, Nov. 17, 1863.

MISSOURI.—We have news from this State of the most cheering character. It will be remembered that the Republicans elected a majority of the members of the Legislature last year, but that, in consequence of a division between the Radicals and the Conservatives of the party (the latter being led by Frank Blair), there was a failure to elect U. S. Senators. Last week the Legislature assembled again. The Blair Republicans having generally voted with the Copperhead Democracy in the recent election, there were fears that the two would conspire together for the choice of Senators. But Radicalism had gained so much in the State in the last year, that the Blair faction dared not longer defy its power. Instead of uniting with the Copperheads, they united with the Radicals in electing to the Senate B. Gratz Brown; after which the Radicals returned the compliment by helping *them* to elect John B. Henderson, who will, probably, in time to come, under the instruction of the people of Missouri, be true to the cause of freedom. It seems probable now that the Radicals, in spite of [illegible] the Administration, carried [illegible] election [illegible] of the Supreme [illegible] 91 Counties, with soldiers' vote as far as received show a Radical majority of [illegible] There are [illegible] Counties to be heard from. The soldiers [illegible] the Radical ticket. The [illegible] took their votes at Chattanooga says they [illegible] *fire of the enemy's guns.* As the men [illegible] gathered together and deposited their ballots, the rebel [illegible] were exploding all about them. Three hundred and twenty-seven of them cast their votes, *and every one of them for the Radical ticket.*

MRS. GAGE TO HER FRIENDS.

In my last letter to THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD I [illegible] an account of my stewardship, as the dis[illegible] of the charities of the numerous friends of the Freedmen of Paris Island. In accordance with that promise, I will state, very briefly, the condition of affairs at the time of my leaving the Island on the 14th of October.

We found remaining on our hands of the refuse of all the goods which had been sent to us, about two hundred and fifty dollars worth, according to the marked prices. These were mostly Summer clothing for children, light articles and unsaleable ones, small-sized Summer shoes, etc.—most of which will probably have to be kept over the Winter, or given away, as emergencies may arise.

These goods were boxed and given into the hands of Miss Ada Williams and Miss Mary E. Gage, who have taken them to Hilton Head, where there is quite as much call for them as among the people of Paris Island who have now in most instances their own means [illegible] on large demands, in small [illegible] resources. The people, [illegible] for themselves, under such [illegible] laid by for a time of need. [illegible] nment provided them with a physician and medicines. These being withdrawn, it became our duty to supply the needy. Those who have seen sickness and death in their own houses will have no need of details in this matter; but no well-arranged family can possibly conceive the comfort to us or the blessing to those poor people, flowing from these charities.

Money taken for goods was expended in very many ways. A drawing of tea, a bit of soap, a candle, a handful of crackers, a little salt, mustard for poultices, molasses, rice, sugar, salts, oil, farina, arrowroot, a bit of flannel for rheumatism, a bit of cotton for bandage, a piece of cotton for a shroud; but I pause in the enumeration. These things, called for every hour in the day, soon made true the old adage, that many a little makes a mickle. Only we living among them can know of their destitution in time of sickness. In master's time, he supplied every article they were allowed to have, and they, of course, have not yet learned the lesson of true independence.

As the season advanced the aged people made demands on us for clothing, which was gratuitously supplied in every worthy case; and we left the Island with a consciousness that your charities had been an unmeasured blessing to these people, and a hope that our labors had not been in vain.

As near as we could estimate the amount, our original capital was near six hundred dollars as gained from the sale of the first boxes sent, and the donations during my visit North in June. Four hundred dollars of this was used two or three times over, and although we gained nothing on the original sum, our profits helped to supply the needs of the destitute, and enabled us to save four hundred dollars for any future demand of the Freedmen in their transition from slavery into freedom.

Already the cry of distress from the valley of the Mississippi pains our ears, and after consultation with those staunch friends of the Freedmen, Oliver and Mary Anne Johnson, whose efforts have been the mainspring of our work, it was decided to donate goods to the sufferers of Vicksburg, amounting to seventy-three dollars. For the care and labor in receiving, packing, and forwarding goods, we should return our most sincere thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Johnson.

The remainder of the money saved from the sale of the goods to the Freedmen will be retained by Mr. and [illegible] tee, to be used whenever and wherever we shall see the most pressing need.

It may not be amiss to state that some losses were incurred by casualties of transportation, damage to goods exposed to heavy rains upon the docks, thefts and otherwise.

Hoping that this statement may be satisfactory to those who generously trusted me, thankful for the past and hopeful for the future, I am truly yours,

FRANCES D. GAGE.

New York, Nov. 8, 1863.

VOTING—NON-RESISTANCE.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I DESIRE to call the attention of the thoughtful to certain portions of the letter of the Philadelphia correspondent, contained in THE STANDARD of October 24. He says, "the ballot and the bullet are not, as has been asserted, essentially the same thing; and to vote for a candidate for Governor does not necessarily imply approval of the foundation principle of the government."

These assertions, which seem to have been intended to justify the abandonment of the principle of non-resistance by all the professors of it known to the writer, it would have been well to have accompanied by some show of reason why the ballot and the bullet are not the same in principle, and *why* voting for any candidate does not imply approval of the foundation principle of the government. A question which has been so carefully examined by many of the best minds, intellectually and morally, which have existed within a century or more of time, and which has so largely influenced their conduct, cannot be settled decisively, by the mere affirmation, however positive, of any one, when left wholly unsupported by reason or logic.

It is no way surprising, in the peculiar condition of the country, and with the immense and various influences which have wrought upon them, that many who have heretofore made profession of the principle of non-resistance, and who thought their faith in it was permanently and unchangeably fixed, should apostatize. Everywhere, so far as I have the means of knowing, the number which has refused to succumb to these influences is extremely small. But *it is* surprising that any intelligent person should continue to style them "non-resistants," and it would be interesting to learn whether the aged friend spoken of, or any other, who abandoned the principle at the recent election, considers himself entitled to the appellation? It would seem that if any do, they afford evidence that they have professed faith in a principle which they have never understood, and therefore could not be expected to maintain under the pressure of a searching temptation.

The writer, in characterizing the election by the people of government officials, says: "They used to be an annual terror to all good men; a source of degradation and corruption to the public. Now the very best people we have participate in them with pleasure, and they are being made the means of national enlightenment and purification." Here, again, I would invite the reflecting, and among them these "very best people," to consider the possibility of the change which has given occasion of this remark having come through retrogression in themselves, rather than a positive advance in virtue of the elements of political action. To consider whether, although upon the question of holding human beings as chattels there *seems* to be an advance, there is not evidence of a greater general demoralization of the people than has ever been known before in this nation? Whether the teachings of Christianity, which advise us that we may never do evil that good may come of it, and the inculcations of reason, that every effect necessarily partakes of the nature of its cause, as much in the moral as in the physical world, do not testify that this demoralization is an inevitable consequence of the events daily transpiring? I judge of this matter both by experience and observation. I feel and know in my own self that association with society, in its present condition, and the influence upon me of surrounding circumstances, have a steady demoralizing influence. I witness the same in others, in a lesser or greater degree, as they participate more or less in the shaping of current events, and in most, to a fearful extent. And in my poor judgment, instead of the elections having become less the subject of reprobation, those who now participate in them who formerly stood aloof have become more corrupt and thereby prepared to do now that which once their consciences forbade. I do not wish to be uncharitable, to criticize others with greater severity than I judge myself, and I ask affectionately of the class alluded to, now the whirlwind has passed by, that they seriously reconsider their position, and decide whether they have not been led into error in the premises.

Marlboro, O., Oct. 26, 1863. A. BROOKE.

PERSONAL.

"The Way of Peace" is the subject of a lecture prepared for the present season by George W. Curtis, Esq.

Hon. Charles Sumner has been forced by the pressure of private business to cancel all his engagements to lecture this season.

The author of the Ode on the Boston Organ, recited by Miss Cushman and published by us last week, is not Mrs. Howe, but Mrs. James T. Fields.

Henry Giles, the popular lecturer, passed through this city during last week, *en route* for St. Louis, where he is to deliver a course of three lectures before the Mercantile Library Association.

Frances D. Gage left the city on Wednesday for Syracuse, in which place and its neighborhood she has several engagements for lecturing. Letters for her should be still addressed to our care, 48 Beekman street, New York.

Edward Everett left Boston on Sunday evening on his way to Gettysburg, in order to have an opportunity to survey the localities before the delivery of his oration, on Thursday, at the consecration of the National Cemetery.

Rev. A. T. Foss is lecturing in New Hampshire, with [illegible] late coachman for a helper. In a letter to Mr. Garrison he says: "The coachman 'drives beautifully; having at three different places appeared to great advantage, quite throwing me into the shade."

It is said that Mr. Thurlow Weed has purchased a large tract of land opposite Fort Washington, on the Jersey bank of the Hudson, and intends to make it his home. If he makes his residence there, he will be nearer James Gordon Bennett in body as well as in spirit.

Mrs. J. S. Griffing and Mrs. Cutler, the two western agents of the Women's Loyal National League, attended lately the great Fair at Chicago, and met with a most cordial reception. They enrolled 3,000 names at the Fair on the great Petition which the Women's League intends to present to Congress.

George W. Rose, 101 Liberty st., has published a beautiful photograph of the Rev. J. W. Massie, D.D., of London, whose recent visit to this country for an important object in connection with the anti-slavery cause will be long remembered by those who were so fortunate as to make his acquaintance.

A visitor, congratulating Mr. Lincoln on the prospect of his reelection, was answered by that indefatigable story-teller with an anecdote of an Illinois farmer, who undertook to blast his own rocks. His first effort at producing an explosion proved a failure. He explained the cause by exclaiming, "Pshaw, this powder has been shot once before!"

The Friends' Review of Philadelphia says: "We are glad to learn that, through the kind mediation of Isaac Newton, Commissioner of Agriculture, Peter Dakin, Lindley M. Macomber and Cyrus G. Prindle, of Vermont, and Edward W. Holway and Charles G. S. Austin of Massachusetts, who were drafted and taken to Washington, have been released from military service, on their parole, by order of the Secretary of War."

The Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* says: "Garibaldi's wounded foot is cured and is no longer an obstacle to locomotion. There remains a little restraint in the lateral movements of the foot, but none in its flexion or extension. The General's health in other respects is sufficiently solid to enable him to take the field whenever he chooses."

E. D. and Anna T. Draper of Hopedale, Mass., have pledged themselves to contribute to the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS *per month, for at least five months,* to sustain lecturing agents in the work of proclaiming to this nation the duty of the immediate and unconditional emancipation of all who are in bondage, as its only hope of continued existence. Just like them!

The Baltimore correspondent of *The Evening Post*, as a gratifying evidence of the rapid spread of anti-slavery sentiment in Baltimore since the first of October, states that the Ladies Union Relief Association of that city has elected Mrs. Henry Winter Davis as its President *vice* Mrs. Reverdy Johnson, resigned. He also says that, previous to the appearance of McClellan's letter endorsing that arch-Pennsylvania traitor Woodward, the portrait of the former hung up in the room of the association. After that two holes developed themselves suddenly. Its next fate was its removal.

The President of the Sanitary Commission, Rev. Dr. Bellows, acknowledges in an eloquent letter the gift of $8,267 29 to the friends of the Commission, by Miss Charlotte Cushman, being the proceeds of five dramatic representations. Dr. Bellows says:

"It is due to Miss Cushman to say that this extraordinary gift of money, so magically evoked by her spell, is but the least part of the service which, ever since our war began, she has been rendering our cause in Europe. Her earnest faith in the darkest hours, her prophetic confidence in our success, her eloquent patriotism, in all presences, have been potent influences abroad, and deserve and command the gratitude of the whole nation."

Whittier's new volume of poems, published in "blue and gold" by Ticknor and Fields, is thus dedicated to Samuel E. Sewall and Harriet W. Sewall of Montrose:

Olor Iscanus queries: "Why should we
Vex at the land's ridiculous miserie?"
So on his Usk banks, in the blood-red dawn
Of England's civil strife, did careless Vaughan
Bemock his times. O friends of many years!
Though faith and trust are stronger than our fears,
And the signs promise peace with liberty,
Not thus we trifle with our country's tears
And sweat of agony. The future's gain
Is certain as God's truth; but, meanwhile, pain
Is bitter and tears are salt; our voices take
A sober tone; our very household songs
Are heavy with a nation's griefs and wrongs;
And innocent mirth is chastened for the sake
Of the brave hearts that nevermore shall beat—
The eyes that smile no more, the unreturning feet!

In the account of moneys received at the great Fair in Chicago, for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission, stands this item: "Miss Dickinson's lecture $1,000." She spoke several times in that city, to the great acceptance of large audiences. The Chicago *Tribune* says: "She is a born orator. She has a mind that can grapple with the most subtle arguments—a voice of rare sweetness, strength and endurance—and a combination of powers that never fails to magnetize the most careless audience. It is not to her prejudice to say that her oratory is open to criticism—that she violates some of the rules which govern some of our highly educated speakers. Her whole style is original—not faultless, but yet most effective." She will speak at Yonkers on the Hudson on Tuesday evening next.

Says the Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*: "Montgomery Blair is understood to have said that his brother Frank is not a candidate for Speaker. He would have been a great fool if he had been a candidate after the Maryland election, which sealed the hopes of any possibility of uniting the Peace Democrats, Border State men and weak-kneed Administration men, to get a majority. Besides, it is understood effective measures have lately been taken to make Gen. Blair, as well as his brother, understand that their warfare on the Administration, from within the Administration ranks, had better be stopped. It is now stated that Gen. Blair will not be here at all unless his vote should be necessary to aid the Administration in organizing the House, but will resign his seat in order to take command of a corps in Grant's army."

The rebel journals are very sore under the appointment of Gen. Butler to the command in the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. The Richmond *Examiner* says:

"It may not be useless to recall to mind that the Confederate government, not taking the same view of Butler's [illegible] countrymen, proclaimed him an outlaw, and [illegible] that he should be executed by any officer into whose hands he might happen to fall. The proclamation remains in full force at the present day, and we have thought it [illegible] to refresh the memory of all Southern officers [illegible] by its republication in the present number of the *Examiner*. That he should assume command so close to the Confederate Capital, with the sentence hanging over his [illegible], he will, no doubt, use all those [illegible] precautions for his personal safety which he has been accustomed to take; yet it is not impossible that his vigilance may be [illegible] at fault on some occasion, and it would make a pleasing and appropriate termination to his career if the soil of Virginia, which witnessed his disgraceful defeat in his first essay of arms, should provide the scaffold on which he should meet the merited retribution of his crimes."

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16, 1863.

THE news that Missouri has been carried by "the Radicals" is too good to be true. It administers a tremendous blow to the Conservatives here, in and outside of the Cabinet. This is the way of the current now all along the border line. Slavery is doomed by the action of the people themselves. The *loyal* people I mean, of course. Missouri has a majority of legal voters in favor of immediate emancipation! If anybody could have made a prediction including such a result two years ago, he would probably have been sent to a mad house, and if it had been done in a border State, some of Mr. Lincoln's Generals at that time would have been just the men ready to commit the outrage. Maryland has a Legislature the majority of which favors the calling of a Constitutional Convention for the purpose of abolishing slavery at once. Yet this miraculous work was done with three members of the Cabinet against it, and the Administration itself non-committal upon the issue so far as it was between immediate and gradual emancipation. In Missouri the Blairs, Bates and the President were all against the Radicals, and yet it is said they have triumphed.

It is an interesting time in Washington just now in reference to this subject, for the President is undoubtedly looking at it very carefully and making up his mind as to his future policy on the slavery question. I believe, from some facts which have come to my knowledge, that he will henceforth advocate immediate emancipation—not that he will endeavor to force this doctrine upon the people of the border slave States, but that he will endeavor to encourage the Immediate Emancipationists in Missouri and in Maryland. There is no doubt that the President is rejoiced at the result in Maryland and Missouri. His policy on this slavery question from the beginning has been to follow rather than to lead public sentiment. He evidently thinks that it is the safer course for him to pursue. I think now that he is convinced that in supporting the so-called Radicals of Missouri and Maryland, he is only paying deserved respect to the public sentiment of the free States. I look, therefore, to a change for the better in the policy of the President and the entire Administration during the Winter and the year to follow.

The slavery question will be "agitated" again in Congress this Winter, without a doubt. The members from Maryland and Missouri, and probably from Delaware, will ask aid to enable them to provide for immediate emancipation in their respective States. Republican votes can be obtained more easily for an appropriation from the National Treasury to secure immediate emancipation than to aid in the plans of the Conservatives, which postpone emancipation for a number of years. Upon such questions, of course, the votes taken in the House will be very close. Not more than five or six votes can be relied upon as a steady majority on this class of subjects. They are enough to secure the passage of every important measure, but not without constant vigilance.

There has been a good deal of talk of changing the Conscription Act in some of its provisions, and it has come to be generally understood that among other changes the $300 exemption clause will be struck out. There is, however, a very strong opposition to this proposed measure growing up in Republican circles, and also among the Radicals of the border States. They assert that the Conscription Act, in its present shape, with more drafts for troops, will, in less than a year, destroy slavery in Missouri, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky and Tennessee. There are five slave States which can be made free through the Conscription Act just as it is. In all these States the government is quite willing to receive colored troops in lieu of white. Every master who will furnish a recruit is paid $300, and the slave obtains his liberty. It is a cash transaction, and a very fair bargain for the master, as prices range on the border. Abolish the $300 exemption clause, and the War Department has no authority to offer the $300 bounty to the master. It was this very act which Senator Wilson drew up which abolished slavery in Maryland, or rather, for this is getting on a little too fast, it was this act which gave the Radicals a majority in that State. The white mechanics and laboring men of the State opened their eyes to the disgraceful position they were forced to occupy through the domineering disposition of the slaveholders of the State and the laws they framed in former years. Senator Wilson, I hear, will oppose any change in the present act, and as he will occupy the influential position of Chairman of the Military Committee in the Senate, his opinions will have much weight.

Mr. Blair was at the wedding-party at Mr. Chase's the other evening, and those who saw him there, or who were to see him in the presence of Mr. Chase in other places than in his own house, would not imagine that the Postmaster-General was so bitter an enemy of the principles of the Secretary of the Treasury as he professes to be. Politics need not be carried into personalities I know, but the Blairs have done it—both Montgomery and Frank have attacked Mr. Chase, one of them brutally. This shows how strongly the Blairs hate real, genuine anti-slavery. I sometimes think, however, that all this noise that they have made *was for the sake of the noise*, and was not caused by devotion to any set of measures or any principles. Mr. Montgomery Blair endeavored to attract the attention of the Conservatives throughout the country by his pro-slavery speeches. He succeeded in making himself notorious, but is not a favorite even with the Conservatives of the country. They do not really like to trust a man who went into the Cabinet by professing to be a staunch Republican, and who tramples upon his principles of three years ago for the sake of advancement.

Senator Wilson has been here during the last week on business. He is very hopeful of the future. The military situation is cheerful; the political is all that the most sanguine could ask. We shall organize the House, probably on the first ballot. The Copperheads have abandoned all idea of beating us in that contest, and Gen. Blair's friends announce that he will not be a candidate for the Speakership. If he were he would be signally beaten, and he knows the fact. He is more deeply concerned in another matter—the election of B. Gratz Brown as Senator from Missouri. It was an unexpected success even to the Missouri Radicals. Gen. Wilson thinks that the government will succeed in obtaining the troops it needs without much irritation, that the financial condition of the country is prosperous, and that the war will end, perhaps not speedily, but erelong, with the rebel States entirely subjugated and slavery destroyed. The Senator, as you well know, is one of those statesmen who desire that slavery may be *entirely* destroyed by this war, knowing very well that if enough of it is left to cover a county that it will make the nation trouble.

The rebel agents abroad seem to be in a desponding frame of mind. The correspondence which was captured a few days ago off Beaufort, and which is to-day made public, gives a very gloomy picture of the condition of rebel affairs abroad. The fact is that the rebellion is in a very bad way. It can fight on the field of battle a good deal better than it can do anything else, and if some unexpected luck does not soon come to its relief, it will starve to death. There is but one danger now to our cause, and that is over-confidence. I am speaking of the military situation simply, for there is great danger that we may soon be tempted to make an unrighteous compromise with the rebels, whereby slavery will obtain leave to exist for another half century. But there seems to be but one obstacle in the way of a great military success in the Spring, and that is over-confidence. If the country will furnish Mr. Lincoln with three hundred thousand fresh troops some time this Winter, the rebellion can certainly be crushed before the first day of July. But the troops *must* be forthcoming or disasters will come upon us.

AYON.

LECTURES BEFORE THE WOMEN'S LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

The first of a series of meetings of the Women's Loyal National League was held at the Cooper Institute on Monday evening. The Rev. Dr. Bellows presided and delivered an appropriate introductory address, in which he expressed his hearty concurrence and deep interest in the special objects of the League. Horace Greeley made a brief, but very earnest and sensible address, and was followed by Mrs. Frances D. Gage, who gave a very interesting and satisfactory account of her experience and observation among the Freedmen of South Carolina. She made a very happy impression upon the audience by her candor, discrimination, good sense, and evident sincerity. We hope she will have an opportunity hereafter to speak in this city to a larger audience than that which heard her on this occasion.

On Friday evening of this week the Hon. Wm. D. Kelley of Philadelphia will deliver a lecture before the League. He will be followed on Monday evening next by E. P. Whipple of Boston; on Tuesday evening, Dec. 1, by Frederick Douglass; and by George W. Curtis and Wendell Phillips, at times to be hereafter announced.

We hope the friends of freedom in this city will attend these meetings in full force. Their object is the discussion of the all-absorbing topics of the day by stirring, living lectures, and the developing and establishing a just conception of the true theory of Union and Liberty.

OBITUARY.

We are pained by intelligence of the decease of our beloved and venerated friend, Joseph Merritt, of Battle Creek, Mich. The tribute which our heart would pay to his memory is well expressed in the following extracts of a letter from Henry C. Wright to *The Liberator*, under date, Battle Creek, Oct. 28.

I reached here from Chicago yesterday. I have been here often the past eighteen years, and have ever made my home with Joseph and Phebe Merritt. I started from the station to go to that home of love and humanity—"where God delights to dwell"—but before I reached the house, I learned that Joseph Merritt had entered "within the veil." This he did, last Saturday, Oct. 24th. He was 71 years old. I cannot say his work is done—I do not believe it is. He has much to do yet to save this country from slavery, war, intemperance, wrong and outrage—and he will do it. To this end he has labored long with a devotion, an earnestness, boldness and consistency, rarely equalled, and never surpassed—his life being judged by his opportunities. But his work in the exterior, corporeal life is all done, and well done. Joseph Merritt was a good man. He was *great* in goodness. So loving, so gentle, so tender, so kind, patient and forgiving to all; so true and so devoted to God, as made known in the depths of his own soul; so unostentatious in his goodness, and so self-sacrificing! His spirit surrounds and fills his home. His wife, not merely his *widow*, and his children, feel that he is not dead, but lives; they feel, not that he is departed and gone, but that he is still in their midst, to bless them with his love and gentleness. With him it is and ever has been a living truth, that the soul is fed and made rich by giving itself out in love and sympathy—while *we starve our souls by keeping them to ourselves.*

He heard the death-knell of slavery before he left the body. He saw in the rebellion an act of Emancipation to four million of slaves, and in the Proclamation a pledge of the "civil and military power of the republic" to secure and maintain their freedom. Few men were endowed with so clear an *intuitional* knowledge of the true, the great, and the noble, and with so keen a perception of moral beauty, as he was. His power to see and feel the moral conditions of all who came near him was truly great. But he was confiding as a child, and it pained him to distress any one.

Joseph Merritt was born a member of the Society of Friends—was trained to their modes of thinking and worship, and had been for many years a faithful and earnest minister among them. Yet Progression has long been his life's motto and law, and he was not only true to his present light, but ever had his mind open to receive new light, from whatever source it might come. His soul had long been freed from the trammels of external *authority*, and true only to internal conviction. His own soul was the manger in which his Savior was born; and he felt that no thing or being, outside of himself, could ever be of use to him until born within him. He worshipped God as revealed in his own soul, and felt that no power could help him to a truer and nobler life till it became a part of himself.

The body of Joseph Merritt was taken to the meeting-house, where J. M. Peebles gave an address peculiarly adapted to the occasion and the man. Thence it was taken to the cemetery, and laid in its appropriate place. "Trust in God and in me"—a sentiment uttered by Jesus—was the basis of the discourse. Joseph Merritt believed and lived out the idea that to love man is to love God, that faith in humanity is faith in God, and that what he did to man he did to God. *He only gives his heart to God who gives it to man.*

I have seen many dead human bodies; but, as I looked on the lifeless form of Joseph Merritt, lying in its usual clothing on a lounge, his face so serene, so sweet and peaceful in expression, I felt like exclaiming, in the language of another—"O Death! where is thy sting? O Grave! where is thy victory?" "I could not make him dead."

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Nation's Prayer: A Song for Thanksgiving Day. Words by Wm. H. Burleigh, music by Wm. Henry Burr. Published in sheet form by Horace Waters, 481 Broadway, and sold at 5 cents single; $3 per 100.

The words are excellent; of the music we are less competent to judge, but friends who have heard it say it also is good. It will be sung, we understand, in many churches on Thursday next. *The Herald of Progress* says: "We have heard this song, as sung by our Dodworth's Hall Choir, and do not hesitate to recommend it to all public and private singers as most inspiring and appropriate. It deserves to be sung in ten thousand churches on the 26th inst., and to be reëchoed from one hundred thousand home-firesides. When in the progress of events these words shall be outlived, the music deserves other and more permanent ones to perpetuate its inspiring notes."

The Nutshell: The System of Slavery Tested by Scripture. In two Lectures. By a Layman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. New York: Published for the Author.

We hardly know where we could find, in the short compass of 72 duodecimo pages, so complete a handbook of anti-slavery facts and arguments as this, fitly called "The Nutshell." The author is understood to be J. E. Woodworth, Esq., of New London, Ct. We have seen a certificate from the Rev. Dr. Tyng, in which it is commended as a complete refutation of the pro-slavery heresies of the Bishop Hopkins school, and on that account specially worthy of circulation at the present time.

Bishop Hopkins's Letter on Slavery Ripped Up, and his Misuse of the Sacred Scriptures Exposed. By a Clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. New York: John F. Trow, 50 Greene street.

The author of this pamphlet has well performed his task. The Bishop's foolish letter is indeed "ripped up" most effectually. That a Bishop of a professedly Christian Church should stand forth in defence of slavery at this day is strange enough, but the ignorance displayed by Bishop Hopkins is stranger still, and places him at the mercy of even the humblest critic.

The Anti-Tobacco Journal for November contains the usual variety of short, pithy articles, exposing the evil effects upon health and manners of chewing, smoking and snuffing tobacco. We give the titles: Reasons for publishing this Journal; Memoranda of my War on Tobacco; A Dream; A Word from the Doctor and his Wife; Startling Calculations; A Voice from Dr. Jewett; A Lady's Appeal to the Smoker; the Young Tobacco-chewer Cured; a Noble Tar Resolving to take the Pledge; Schools and Teachers; the Pulpit Divorced from the Temperance Cause; In Memoriam; The Army and Navy Tracts. Fitchburg, Mass., Rev. George Trask, Editor and Publisher.

The Edinburgh Review for October (American Edition, L. Scott & Co., 38 Walker st.) contains ten articles, with the following titles: Queensland; Gregorovius's Mediæval Rome; Cadastral Survey of Great Britain; Macknight's Life of Lord Bolingbroke; Austin on Jurisprudence; The Royal Academy; Chinchona Cultivation in India; Phillimore's Reign of George III; Tara—a Mahratta Tale; The Colonial Episcopate.

The New York Medical College for Women.—The New York Medical College for Women was incorporated by the Legislature at its last session, and has already gone into successful operation. The first term commenced on the 19th of October, and will close on the 18th of February next. An able Faculty has been organized, and the facilities for scientific instruction are ample, both in respect to lectures and apparatus, and in the chemical department. Among its patrons are many of our best citizens, and it has a fair chance of attaining popularity. Mrs. Maria L. Oscanyan, No. 37 Lafayette place, the Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Trustees, will answer all business communications.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND."

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society congratulate its members and friends that, through the madness, rebellion, and secession of the South, avowedly in behalf of its Heaven-accursed and world-abhorred slave system—involving the country in a civil war of the hugest proportions and the most sanguinary character, which still continues its desolating work—the constitutional powers of the Federal government are now ample to decree the immediate and total abolition of slavery. They believe that, as a measure of national peace and unity, of humanity and justice, such a decree should be passed by the ensuing Congress at as early a period in the session as practicable—thus not only sustaining the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln of January 1st, 1863, but also effectually disposing of that remnant of the slave institution which was exempted by the proclamation aforesaid in such a manner as may seem most equitable and expedient by Congress.

The warrant for this procedure is to be found in the still greatly imperilled state of the republic, and in the legitimate functions of the government that may be exercised in such an alarming crisis. By common law, an individual has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law. In view of international law, a nation is an individual, and has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law; one of those means being the destruction of any dynasty or institution that imperils national life. Slavery has struck at the life of the nation, and declared its own existence incompatible with that of the nation. Hence the nation, acting through its official organs, has the right to abolish slavery throughout its dominions; and past events demonstrate alike the necessity and duty of exercising this right without delay and without compromise.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, therefore, deeply impressed with the importance of a general coöperation of the friends of impartial liberty at this time, in order to influence and secure the action of Congress in the manner described, hereby announce, that they have resolved to put forthwith into the lecturing field as many agents as the funds of the Society will warrant, whose sole work shall be to enlighten the public mind on this subject, stimulate to a wide-spread movement in favor of universal emancipation, and thus make the recurrence of another Slaveholders' Rebellion an impossible event.

To sustain and increase the number of these agents, the Committee solicit the generous contribution and donations of all who desire to see the speedy suppression of the war, and in the fullest sense "Liberty and Union" made "one and inseparable."

In furtherance of this patriotic and Christian object, the "Woman's Loyal National League" at New York has taken the field, in advance, to procure to a petition to the next Congress, for the total abolition of slavery, A MILLION OF SIGNATURES on the part of the loyal women of the republic. It deserves all possible encouragement and success, and we shall extend to it the heartiest coöperation. But let the loyal men be equally zealous and resolved to be as potentially heard in the same manner, by the same body. Let such a petition be sent to Congress from every city, town, village and hamlet in all the loyal States. No time is to be lost. "*One last, best effort now!*"

The Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society is William I. Bowditch, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Mass. Donations may also be sent to Oliver Johnson, Esq., Anti-Slavery Office, 48 Beekman street, New York, and to J. Miller McKim, Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia, Pa.

☞ Editors of newspapers friendly to the object here announced, are respectfully requested to insert this announcement in their columns.

WOMEN'S PETITION FOR EMANCIPATION.

We give below the form of petition adopted by the Women's National Loyal League. If any of our readers are not otherwise supplied, they can copy this on a sheet of paper and commence at once the work of obtaining signatures.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

(Men)

The Undersigned, Women of the United States above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your Honorable Body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an Act emancipating all Persons of African descent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States.

Name. | *Residence.*

When the sheet is filled, add others of the same width to the foot of it, with paste or mucilage. The signatures should be by the persons themselves, or else written at their request. Add, at close of each petition, the number of signatures contained, and name of Town, County and State whence it comes. Return to Women's National Loyal League, 20 Cooper Institute, New York.

N.B.—As this petition will not be presented till after next December 12, all who will then be eighteen years old have a right to sign it.

Photographs—large size—of the following persons for sale at this office, price 75 cents:

THEODORE D. WELD,
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
OLIVER JOHNSON,
THEODORE TILTON.

The likenesses are pronounced excellent—that of Mr. Weld especially.

Correction.—A provoking typographical blunder mars the fine poem of Mrs. Gage on the fourth page. It is in the first line of the closing stanza, where the word "raving" is substituted for roving. Most readers, however, will make the correction for themselves.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

On the 14th inst. there was an engagement between detachments of our infantry and cavalry and Stewart's cavalry, near Mitchell's Station, three miles south west of Culpepper, in which the latter received a handsome whipping. We now hold all the ground in Culpepper County which was occupied by us previous to Lee's late advance. There are abundant evidences that Lee's army intended to make Winter quarters between the Rappahannock and the Rapidan. The road to Stevensburgh on both sides is bordered by carefully constructed huts in number sufficient to accommodate 50,000 men. At present, however, this army is below the Rapidan. The river, it is probable, is held by a strong picket guard, while the main force has gone further South.

FROM TENNESSEE.

A telegram, dated on Monday, has been received at Louisville, Ky., from the Headquarters of the Army of the Tennessee, announcing that Maj.-Gen. Sherman was in Gen. Thomas's headquarters, his entire corps having made a junction with the right of Gen. Grant's army at Chattanooga.

A Chattanooga dispatch, dated on Monday, says the rebel battery on Lookout Mountain had worked vigorously all day, alternately shelling Hooker's Camp, Moccasin Point and the Chattanooga camps. Rebel shells are also occasionally thrown into the town, but the fire had resulted in no casualities. Bragg is now said to be receiving heavy reënforcements, and the road from Chickamauga Station for eight miles south is said to be lined with rebel camps.

It was reported a few days since that two of Gen. Burnside's outposts in Tennessee had been attacked by the enemy, and a portion of two regiments captured. We are now informed that the disaster occurred at Rodgersville, in Hawkins County, Tennessee, 15 miles from Knoxville, and that we lost four cannon and 600 men.

Gen. Burnside's resignation, a long time since tendered, has, we are told, at last been accepted. Gen. Foster has been assigned to the command thus made vacant. The Providence *Journal* remarks that the state of Gen. B.'s health is such that his friends have for some time been desirous that he should seek the repose which he has so long denied himself. But he was reluctant to leave his post till he had completed the work which he had undertaken, of leading his army to Knoxville.

FROM NEW ORLEANS.

The report of the attack by the rebels upon the advance of Gen. Washburne's division, in the Teche District, is confirmed. The enemy was driven back with a loss of 200 prisoners and 100 killed. Our loss was 40 killed. The scheme of the pro-slavery party for holding a State election in Louisiana on the day appointed by the Constitution of that State was not carried out. The struggle between the slavery and anti-slavery parties there is thus postponed.

THE TEXAS EXPEDITION.

The expedition that sailed lately from New Orleans, under command of Maj.-Gen. Banks, has effected a landing on the Rio Grande, without opposition, and there was no loss of life except from the swamping of a single boat. The rebels appear to have abandoned Fort Brown without firing a gun, and afterward to have set fire to Brownsville. A street fight, while the fire was raging, between the rebel soldiers and citizens and the Union men who tried to stop the conflagration, must have presented a fearful spectacle. Brownsville is now ours, and we have thus gained a most important foothold in Texas. We may make it a base of operations for a march into the interior for the ascent of the Rio Grande, across which the Texans have, for two years or more, been carrying on a most profitable trade. Having a large land and naval force there, we are also in a convenient position to take care of our interests, in case the French army in Mexico should have any designs upon Texas, as has several times been hinted.

FROM CHARLESTON.

Richmond advices from Charleston as late as Saturday, the 14th inst., have been received at Fortress Monroe. The firing upon the ruins of Fort Sumter on Friday night and Saturday was prosecuted with immense vigor—as many as two shots per minute being delivered from the mortars and rifled pieces of our works on Morris Island. The casualties in Sumter, on Friday night, were two killed and one wounded.

THREATENED INVASION FROM THE NORTH.

The public was not a little startled the other day by the announcement that the Governor-General of Canada, in the exercise of becoming comity and international good faith, had notified our government, through Lord Lyons, of the probable existence of a rebel plot to seize steamboats on Lake Erie, set free the 2,000 prisoners confined at Johnson's Island, and burn and lay waste the cities of Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and every other town from Ogdensburg to Chicago, and to obliterate entirely the Commerce of Lake Erie. Vallandigham, James Clay and Marshal Kane are said to have been the arch conspirators. The Montreal *Commercial Advertiser*, a secession paper, admits the existence of the plot, and gives the following explanation:

"The Washington government having refused to continue the exchange of prisoners of war under the cartel, sent the Southern officers accustomed to a tropical climate to Johnson's Island, where 2,[illegible] of them were confined in wretched quarters, absolutely unfit to house cattle. There is no reason to doubt that the officers selected for this prison were those on whom the cold, damp climate and exposure would act most prejudicially. It was, in fact, an attempt to commit murder without publicly incurring the odium of slaughter.

"In these circumstances the Confederate government determined to make an attempt to rescue the doomed officers, and for this purpose an expedition was fitted out, consisting of thirty-six officers, under the command of one who had distinguished himself in similar dashing enterprises, and three hundred men. The officers embarked at Wilmington in the Confederate steamer Robert E. Lee, and landed at Halifax. The cotton and tobacco brought by that steamer as freight were sold to furnish the funds required, amounting to about $110,000. The men came overland through the States in small parties to the general rendezvous.

"The intention was to surprise the Federal garrison on Johnson's Island, liberate the prisoners, convey them to Canada in vessels provided for that purpose, and forward them by Halifax to Nassau or Bermuda; the greater part of the funds being specially devoted to paying their passage to one of these points.

"Any further operations on the lakes were left to the discretion of the officer in command, whose orders were stringent and peremptory to avoid a breach of British neutrality, and to take care that even the semblance of international wrong should be prevented. Had Johnson's Island been taken, it might have formed a basis for other operations against Federal commerce on the lakes; but the real object of the expedition was to rescue two thousand valuable lives from the cruelty which had devoted them to slow but certain death in a climate and situation in the last degree inimical to them."

The Army and the Negroes.

> "Everywhere the American General receives his most useful and reliable information from the Negro, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

A VISIT TO A NEGRO CAMP.

From The Congregationalist.

With what emotions did I again tread the soil of Virginia, feeling myself once more personally united with the army of her regeneration—and now, too, with that army of emancipated men who are to work out the true emancipation of the nation. It seems a century of progress from the day when, under the guidance of a Charlestown slave, I marked the spot of John Brown's scaffold, to the day when in sight of Gen. Lee's confiscated estate I stood in the midst of a regiment of negroes nine hundred strong, formed in a hollow square, and heard them roll out the "Glory Hallelujah" of the John Brown song. One little contrast will mark the progress of this war of ideas, that slavery has brought to an issue upon its own soil. Three years ago a white gentleman approaching Gen. Lee's grounds would have been hailed by his servants with all the obsequious demonstrations of servility. The other day I essayed to cross a field in that neighborhood, a negro, but yesterday a slave, now clothed in the United States uniform, and carrying a loaded musket, commanded me to *stop!* and then poured upon my astonished ears the following volley of military orders: "Ten *shun!* You can't cross dere! Officer uv the day said let *no* man pass dis line. Go over dar by dat big tree to de guard house, ef you want to get in de camp." I realized that the black man had at least become a man—himself the representative of authority, the enforcer of law, the symbol of power; that a uniform upon the negro meant just what it means upon the white man, and that a musket was in his hands for just the same purpose that it is in the hands of a sentry of any army in any nation of the world.

Having at length bowed myself into Camp Casey, I began the formal inspection of the Second Regiment United States Colored Troops. I had the good fortune to see the several company drills in the morning, and the battalion drill in the afternoon; and to my unpracticed eye these were quite as creditable as in any white regiment of such recent formation. Indeed, those officers of the regiment who have heretofore been connected with white troops, say that the second colored quite surpasses the average of regiments in aptitude for drill. In the battalion drill they went through the most complicated movements with promptness, precision, and a decidedly martial tone. Col. Fellows, himself a thorough and experienced officer, has them in excellent handling, and the line officers are mostly men who have seen service, and who know how to inspire soldiers with their own enthusiasm. Certainly I have seldom felt the effectiveness of regimental manœuvers as I did when I saw the second colored deploy, march in close column, charge at double quick. They are a fine body of men physically, with a decided predominance of unmitigated black in the complexion of the companies. Perhaps one half of them have been slaves in Maryland, and the remainder are conscripts and substitutes from Washington and vicinity. There is a good religious element in the regiment, and the discipline of the camp is admirable.

I cannot better exemplify the character and spirit of the freedmen in these regiments than by the following epistle which one of them indited to his betrothed upon the old plantation, through the pen of an officer who gave me the copy.

> "Tell her I am in the army, under Uncle Sam, to fight for her liberties, for my mother's, and to free all my race. I have a new suit of clothes, a new gun, plenty to eat, and kind men for officers to teach me to be a soldier. I see a good many young girls in camp (visitors from Washington), but none so pleasant to my mind as she is."

How touching and beautiful this simple letter! How much of the man there is in it; the dutiful son, the faithful lover, the earnest patriot, swelling with the dignity of his new calling, the champion of freedom for his kindred and his race. Will not such men fight, think you? I told them at least, that I was willing to put in their charge my name, my honor, and all that makes home and country dear.

Two worthy colored ministers of Washington, and the editor of *The Anglo-African* in New York were present at this visit. As we stood together in the hollow square of armed men, and exhorted these new champions of freedom, my eye caught the summit of the dome of the Capitol made ready for Crawford's imperial statue of Liberty. I pointed the African legion to the omen that ushers in their warfare. They will lift Liberty to her place above the Capitol, and will keep her there.

T.

New York, Nov. 3.

PRESENTATION OF A FLAG.

New Orleans, Friday, Oct. 23, 1863.

Among the remarkable things occurring daily, the legitimate fruit of the attempt of the slaveholders to put slavery on a firm and secure basis, I may mention one which occurred to-day. The 16th Regiment Corps d'Afrique, Col. M. C. Kempsey commanding, was this morning formed in line, in Annunciation Square, in full marching order, and was presented with a handsome flag by the female members of the several African Baptist Churches in the city. Major B. R. Plumly received the flag on behalf of the regiment in a very neat and appropriate speech, when Col. Kempsey made a few remarks, in which he gave evidence of his earnestness. The regiment looked well, and, notwithstanding there was a bitter cold wind and rain prevailing at the time, there was a goodly number of spectators. Let it not be said the world does not move, when here, in New Orleans, in broad daylight, a regiment of negroes, armed and equipped, turn out to receive a flag from their colored sisters, previous to marching to the battle-field. Three years ago the man that would have proposed to arm colored men for any purpose, would have been shot down in broad daylight before he could have walked a block, and no one would have dared to lay hands on the murderer.—*Tribune.*

CONTRABANDS IN ARKANSAS.

At White River Station is a camp, containing something over two hundred contrabands. The men are employed in cutting wood, but after inspecting the camp closely I was not able to discover any opportunity the women had to make themselves useful. The party who had charge of the men informed me that they were excellent laborers—orderly, respectful and industrious. Said he, "I used to believe that negroes were of no account, and when I made a contract with government to furnish a sufficiency of wood at this place I could not exactly see how I was to get it cut. I knew I could not force the contrabands to take an interest in the matter, so I determined to see what effect kindness would have upon them. I told them I would stand by them if they would by me; that if they worked well they would be paid well, and receive a proper allowance of food and clothing; and that if any of them were taken sick I would see them duly cared for. Then I gave them axes, and told them to go to work. You can see how they have made the trees suffer"—pointing to a number of piles of wood mostly corded on the bank of the river, and which were rapidly being transferred to the decks of half-a-dozen government transports. "A negro," said the contractor, "is a good deal like a white man, after all; he'll do more work in an hour, if you use him well, than you could whip out of him in half a day."—*Cor. Tribune.*

RECRUITING IN CONNECTICUT.

The Connecticut Legislature at its extra session passed an act which offers colored volunteers the same pay and clothing as white volunteers; gives to such colored volunteers three hundred dollars bounty on being mustered into service; guaranties an additional bounty of thirty dollars per annum during the term of service; and pays recruiting officers ten dollars for every colored recruit mustered in.

The business of recruiting colored troops in New York to fill up the quota of Connecticut will now go on more busily than ever, especially as Governor Seymour a few weeks ago formally refused to accept colored men as volunteers in this State. There were, some three months ago, fifty thousand able-bodied colored men in this State, who would have volunteered with proper encouragement, and whose enlistment might have saved us from the draft if Governor Seymour had not refused to accept them.—*Evening Post.*

THE RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT.

The Rhode Island colored regiment encamped on Dutch Island, near Newport, numbers twelve hundred men, who have been for some time at work erecting fortifications on the island. The Providence *Journal* says:

"They have already built an earthwork and placed a sufficient number of guns in position to command the west passage. These guns are mostly 64-pounders, and are sufficient to protect the bay from the depredations of ordinary ships of war. Of course we have no fortifications at the mouth of the Narragansett that could withstand the attack of an iron-clad fleet, though the works to be built on this island, which are now in progress, may be of that character."

ENLISTMENT OF SLAVES IN MARYLAND—GROWLS OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS.

From The Somerset (Md.) Herald.

Last week two steamers came up the Pocomoke and took off, as we learn, two hun[illegible] more negroes. Another steamer has gone up to Snow Hill, but we have not learned with what success she met. Some of the negroes landed at Rehoboth on Sunday last and scoured the country around, taking horses and riding them into every jungle and nook, persuading negroes to join them. One of the steamers had a band of music on board, which had the desired effect. We learn that one lady alone on the Pocomoke lost twenty men.

From The Worcester (Snow Hill) Shield of November 7th.

The above, from our Somerset cotemporary, is but a moderate reference to a most extraordinary proceeding. The third steamer to which he alludes (the John Tracey) reached the wharf at Snow Hill on Saturday last, having on board Col. Birney and a negro brass band, and some negro soldiers. She left on Monday morning with about two hundred slave negroes who flocked on board from all parts of the country, some owners losing every one they had, and but few getting certificates for them. Indeed, Col. Birney told some of their owners that the certificate, if he gave it, might be worth nothing. So utterly amazed were our people at this cool defiance of the laws of the State, that it took the place generally of wrath and indignation. They could hardly realize it as a fact. We deprecate the iniquity and wholesale wrong of such a proceeding. There was no discrimination. Negro men and boys utterly unfit for military service were taken if calling themselves slaves, and while the government expects to be supported by the people it despoils them suddenly and inequitably of every vestige of labor by which it can be afforded. Why should Mr. Lincoln dread sudden emancipation and yet make a peaceable, loyal State suffer as Maryland from this extraordinary and forcible exodus of our laboring force, leaving some of our farmers with not a single hand? What is to be done?

MAJOR STEARNS IN NASHVILLE.

A correspondent in Nashville, under date of Oct. 22, writes as follows:

"Major Stearns is meeting with fine success here—not raising regiments as rapidly *just now*, perhaps, as a noisy, blustering man might—but laying the foundation of his work so firmly, and winning the confidence and coöperation of the genuinely loyal Tennesseeans so surely, and gaining the implicit trust of the colored people so thoroughly, that his future labors will inevitably be crowned with the largest and best success. Like a wise philanthropist, he seeks to accomplish several minor objects, each in its way subservient to the one grand aim of freeing and educating and enfranchizing the colored race, not as *colored* people, but as *human beings*. Soldiers are most needed now—so he is recruiting regiments; but he seeks at the same time to effect gradually such changes in the system of labor, in the habits of the blacks, as will tend most directly to rid this possibly splendid State of her one incubus, slavery, and fit the recent and present slaves for an intelligent use of the freedom into which they have already entered or will certainly enter soon.

"There is a fine opening here for missionary efforts, in teaching the hundreds of black children (and adults, too) who are eager to learn. Yesterday I visited a school of these, some three hundred strong, and heard some classes read. They are very near the beginning yet, but they are anxious to press on. 'The harvest is great, but the laborers are few.'"—*Commonwealth.*

ENLISTMENTS IN KANSAS.

The enlistment of colored soldiers is going on briskly in Kansas under direction of Capt. R. J. Hinton, who has been specially detailed for this service. The 2d Kansas colored volunteer Infantry has been fully organized and mustered in. The officers are said to be superior men. Authority has been given to raise two more regiments and a battery of "ironclads," as the negro regiment are jocularly called in this district. At least two fine companies of the 3d Kansas (colored) are ready for muster at Fort Smith, and a number of men are raised for other companies.

ENLISTMENTS IN ILLINOIS.

Gov. Yates, under authority of the War Department, is trying to raise a regiment of infantry in Illinois, to be composed of colored men, and to serve for three years or during the war, for $10 a month, with a chance of an increase of their wages by Congress. The rendezvous of the regiment will be at Quincy.

PRO-SLAVERY UNIONISM IN KENTUCKY.

Nashville, Tenn., October 31, 1863.

Editors Missouri Democrat: In the Cincinnati *Gazette*, of the 29th inst, you have doubtless seen an interesting account of the insolence of the Louisville police in attempting to arrest the free colored servant of Gen. Garfield on his recent journey through that city. It occurred on the ferry-boat in passing to the Indiana shore, and but for the firmness of Gen. Steedman, who was in company with Gen. Garfield, and the presence of several soldiers, the insolent police would have returned to captivity—no doubt by their own bill of sale—a servant of one of our bravest Generals, who had free papers under the seal of Gen. Rosecrans!

I refer to this because the city police and some of the United States officials seem to vie with each other in their defiance of military authority in regard to seizing colored men who are in transit through the city under military authority. As I came through that city I fell in at Jeffersonville with persons who had charge of an army wagon train, on the way from Maryland to Chattanooga, of many hundred; and the teamsters were mostly (if not all) Maryland negroes. About sixty of these negro teamsters preceded the wagon-master across the river with their teams, and you can judge of his surprise and indignation to find that all his teamsters had been arrested. The wagon-master was an energetic, fearless Marylander, who had four brothers in the rebel army, yet he believed in using negroes to put down their traitorous masters, and save the Republic. He flew to the release of his teamsters, and the official grip was soon loosened. When he arrived at Nashville he suffered no molestation, for here the insolence and treason of the Louisville *Journal* have no controlling power, like that over the pro-slavery Copperheads of Kentucky.

The Journal sends forth threats of blood and thunder upon the Unconditional Unionists of Missouri, who propose to meet, at Louisville on the 8th of January next, the men of Kentucky and Tennessee of like character. While at the hotel in Louisville, I met with several influential Union—real Union—slaveholders, from Southern Kentucky, near Richmond. They told me that they had no expectation of saving slavery to Kentucky—that slavery was even now almost worthless in the State, and that their true interest was to get rid of it as fast as loyal owners could be brought to act in harmony upon the best plan of emancipation. They believed rebel invasion, and raiding, and bushwhacking would not cease or be put down in the State until there was no longer any hope for slavery perpetuation. They look upon *The Journal* as one of their worst enemies in the peace and welfare of the State.

Here in Tennessee, slavery is crumbling to pieces at railroad speed. The Tennessee 1st colored regiment is stationed at Dorchard, under command of Col. Thompson, formerly senior Aid-de-Camp on Gen. Rosecrans's staff commanding 1st United States volunteer infantry. It is a fine and effective regiment. The 2d Tennessee, colored regiment, is commanded by Col. Hottenstein, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel of the 42 United States volunteers. The Lieutenant-Colonel is Theo. Tranerwicht, formerly Captain in 2d Missouri volunteers. This regiment is on duty on the Northwestern railroad, with as many more negroes at work and not yet enlisted. Nearly the whole negro population of Nashville is in the employment of the United States government in some form—such as teamsters, hospital servants, laborers, etc., etc.

NEGRO RECRUITING IN NASHVILLE.

Major Stearns is still prosecuting the work of raising negro troops in Nashville with excellent success. Three regiments have been raised and the fourth begun in that immediate vicinity, while a large number of negroes have been raised to work on some important railroad improvements which are being constructed under government direction.

COLORED CAVALRY.

The War Department has decided not to permit the raising of colored cavalry regiments. Applications to raise regiments of colored cavalry have been received from several quarters. Gen. Birney favored the idea strongly, but the Department, probably thinking that not more than one or two regiments would be raised, and looking at the difficulties in the way of the employment of two or three such regiments, has decided against all the applications.—*Wash. Cor. Eve. Post.*

COLORS FOR THE SEVENTH REGIMENT CORPS D'AFRIQUE.

The New Orleans papers of the 4th instant announce the arrival in that city of Rev. Thomas W. Conway, Chaplain of the Seventh Regiment Corps d'Afrique, from New York, with a beautiful banner, presented to his regiment by Mayor Opdyke, A. T. Stewart, Hon. Edgar Ketchum, and other leading and influential citizens of New York. Accompanying the banner was a short and stirring address to be read to the regiment on the presentation.

RECRUITING AT PORT HUDSON.

New Orleans, Nov. 3, 1863.

Intelligence from Port Hudson has been received, from which I learn that the recruiting of black troops is progressing most promisingly. The prejudices against their employment are being rapidly dispelled from the minds of the inhabitants of the State. It has been determined by the President and his advisers to make the African troops a part of our regular army. The following order has recently been promulgated:

GENERAL ORDERS—NO. [illegible].

H[illegible]adquarters [illegible] E.,
Port Hudson, La., S[illegible] 22, 1863.

I. In compliance with special orders, No. [illegible], Headquarters Department of the Gulf, September 1[illegible], 1863, the first twenty regiments of infantry of the Corps d'Afrique are hereby organized into two divisions of two brigades each, as follows:

FIRST DIVISION.

Brig.-Gen. D. Ullmann, Commander.

FIRST BRIGADE.	SECOND BRIGADE.
1st regiment of infantry,	4th regiment of infantry,
2d regiment of infantry,	7th regiment of infantry,
3d regiment of infantry,	8th regiment of infantry,
11th regiment of infantry,	9th regiment of infantry,
12th regiment of infantry,	10th regiment of infantry.

SECOND DIVISION.

No Commander assigned.

FIRST BRIGADE.	SECOND BRIGADE.
[illegible]h regiment of infantry,	6th regiment of infantry,
1[illegible]th regiment of infantry,	1[illegible]h regiment of infantry,
14th regiment of infantry,	[illegible] regiment of infantry,
15th regiment of infantry,	[illegible] regiment of infantry,
16th regiment of infantry	[illegible] regiment of infantry.

The four brigades will be commanded respectively by the senior Colonel present.

II. [illegible] temporary [illegible] hereby made, viz.: Battery G, Fifth U[illegible] S[illegible], to the First division Corps d'Afrique; Second Vermont battery, to the Second division Corps d'Afrique.

By command of Brig.-Gen. Geo. L. Andrews.
George B. Halstead, Captain and A. A. General.

APPOINTMENT OF A COLORED CHAPLAIN.

Rev. H. M. Turner, colored, pastor of the Israel Bethel Church in Washington, has been appointed Chaplain of the First Regiment United States colored troops now in South Carolina. He is the first colored minister who had been commissioned Chaplain.

Summary.

The police made a descent, on Saturday night, upon an unlawful assemblage of negroes congregated at the City Gas Works, for religious purposes, and took in custody 43. Yesterday morning they were taken before Justice Chandler, who ordered 10 lashes each and let them go.—*Richmond Examiner.*

Mrs. Dr. Lydia Hasbrouck, being unrepresented, refuses to pay taxes at Wallkill. She was ordered to appear on the highroad with a shovel to work out the amount, and did so, bearing a fire shovel, greatly to the wrath of the authorities, between whom and herself there consequently exists a terrible disturbance.

"Conservatism," says the Nashville *Union*, "is Copperheadism in its Sunday clothes; the devil with his hoofs in his boots and his tail tucked in his breeches; indifferent whiskey labelled 'extract of Sarsaparilla'; Mrs. Potiphar painted for a street promenade to entrap the verdant. It is as bad an ism as the rheumatism."

One of the most remarkable donations to the North-Western fair, was from the convicts of the Michigan Penitentiary. The extremes of society met on one common ground. Among the articles from these convicts are hoes, knives, skates, apple-pearers, beside a variety of edge tools. One, a convict for life, contributed a tree carved from wood, which sold the first day for $30.

New Paper.—A new and truly loyal paper will make its appearance in Louisville on the 1st of January. It is to be started by a joint stock company, with a capital of not less than $20,000, and not more than $150,000—$10,000 of which were subscribed on the first day after the books were opened. James Speed and Bland Ballard are at the head of it.

Count Gasparin gives this good advice in a recent private letter: "Already the hour of your success seems to have come. How do I rejoice over it! But just here it is that you will need to redouble your wisdom. Close in around Mr. Lincoln. Make sure the abolition of slavery. Practice equality toward men of color. Avoid foreign quarrels. Avoid oppression in the South. Your glory should consist in promptly reëstablishing there liberty and the life of the body politic."

An anonymous pamphleteer has produced a keen satire of Bishop Hopkins's defence of slavery under cover of a scriptural defence of polygamy. The writer says: "An admirer, like yourself, of the institutions of old, I should hardly have dared to declare these truths to a perverse and self-glorifying generation, had I not been emboldened by the example of one who so worthily wears the highest honors of the Church. In constructing my argument, therefore, as I have done, with paragraph after paragraph of your very words, it has been because I felt it necessary to shield myself behind your authority from the charge, which ignorant presumption might else have brought, of irreverently travestying the Word of God."

Public Schools.—*Vicksburg, Miss., Oct. 28.*—Since the war began they have had no schools in the South, and the young have been allowed to run wild, until the harvest of thorns is large. Now we have inaugurated the school system again, and learning may be taught as of yore. Colored schools have been instituted too. One is in operation in the basement of the Second Presbyterian Church, where the colored idea displays a decided desire to shoot. It is one of the institutions against which rebeldom entertains and exercises a stereotyped dislike, which is vented in anathemas. The teachers speak highly of the proficiency of pupils, and the earnestness with which the elder ones enter upon their studies. Adjutant-General Thomas, I believe, is the sponsor of it.—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

The President and his Visitors.—The Washington *Republican* says: "Yesterday President Lincoln disposed of the crowd of visitors in his ante-rooms by a *coup d'etat*. He threw open the doors of his business chamber and invited them all in at once, and disposed of each with as little ceremony as possible. The approaching session of Congress makes it necessary that he should do this, else his whole time each day would be consumed by individuals who desire 'private interviews' on 'important business,' which generally turns out to be of importance only to themselves, and of not the slightest interest to the President or the country. President Lincoln has commenced writing his annual message, and will necessarily have to limit his hours for receiving visitors until after Congress meets."

Paddy O'Reilly's Return.—Miles O'Reilly, the soldier who was arrested on Morris Island, S. C., for making blackguard poetry, and pardoned by the President in response to a witty poetical petition, has arrived in New York on a furlough, and met with an enthusiastic reception by his old mates. He has sent a hymn of thanks to the President, beginning—

> "Long life to you, Misther Lincoln;
> May you die both late an' aisy;
> An' whin you lie wid the top of aich toe
> Turned up to the roots of a daisy,
> May this be your epitaph, nately writ:
> 'Though thraitors abused him vilely,
> He was honest an' kindly, he loved a joke,
> An' he pardoned Miles O'Reilly.'"

Slave Stampede in Kentucky.—The Nashville *Union* of the 27th says: "A very respectable slaveholder from Kentucky informs us that, within three weeks past, a change seems to have come over the negroes in the southern Counties of that State, and large numbers of them are running off. He says that over one hundred and fifty have escaped from one County, and the trouble is increasing. In spite of the enormous prices which the great Kentucky staple, tobacco, is bringing, slaves have depreciated greatly in value. A very large proportion of the slaveowners say that slavery is hopelessly destroyed, and that they are willing to acquiesce in any disposition which may be made of the slaves. This sentiment is rapidly spreading among the people. The Union men are almost unanimously opposed to the factious and selfish course of the pro-slavery bigots at Louisville and Frankfort."

"John Brown's Soul."—In a speech in Philadelphia, Col. Forney spoke as follows: "A year ago this night, when an assemblage not so enthusiastic as this did me the honor to pay me a visit, I took a liberty with them; and for that I have since that time been slandered by all the Copperheads, from Wm. B. Reed to Chas. J. Biddle ('up' or 'down,' as you wish to make it). I asked the band to play a National hymn—the hymn of John Brown. I asked them to play the great poem or great epic which told to the world that the soul of that martyr, who fell because of his hostility to slavery, was still marching on. And I tell you, gentlemen, it is marching on. John Brown's knapsack is not only strapped upon his back, but his soul is marching on; aye, his soul is marching with you. Now, gentlemen, in conclusion let me ask the band (a year ago the band which came here scarcely knew the tune) to play John Brown; for I expect it has become as familiar to you as the 'Star Spangled Banner' or 'Hail Columbia.'"

White Slaves.—Col. Hanks who has had charge of the Freedmen in Louisiana, has been ordered by General Banks to proceed North, and present to the loyal people the situation of thousands of negroes in his department. The Colonel has arrived at this port and brings with him a man who is branded on the forehead with the name of his late master, a woman whose back and shoulders are scarred with the lash of her oppressors, a preacher of the Gospel, until lately a slave, and three little white girls with straight light brown hair and blue eyes; they are good-looking children, indeed, one of them is very handsome. They were born in slavery and held as slaves until the President issued his proclamation of Freedom. Their mothers consent to their coming North, in order to insure their escape from the lecherous clutches of their former taskmasters. Col. Hanks left the city last evening and will proceed directly to Washington, taking with him the children who have been redeemed from a life of bondage. During their stay in this city a number of philanthropic and patriotic ladies and gentlemen called at the Freedmen's Relief Rooms, No. 1 Mercer street, to see them.—*Tribune.*

Freedom in New Orleans.—Capt. Dickinson of the 12th Connecticut Regiment, writes to the New Haven *Palladium* from New Orleans:

"Quite a sensation occurred here a few days ago among the semi-secesh, occasioned by the throwing to the breeze a splendid United States flag, which bore upon it this inscription: 'Free State General Committee Rooms.' It was nothing strange to us Yankees, for we had seen such things at home during all political campaigns, but to secesh—horrors! Who dare to pollute New Orleans with such a banner? Free State, indeed! These infernal Yankees will rule us yet. How they did growl, make wry faces, cast scornful glances at the hateful words, and mutter vengeance, but all to no purpose. The flag still floats; the committee room is still visited by hundreds, and tracts, newspapers, and documents find their way into many families, thus sowing seed that will ere long bring forth fruit that will go far towards making a free State of Louisiana. The manner in which the sale of cotton raised by free labor is advertised and trumpeted, and the crowds that attend those sales, together with [illegible] which a bale of it is [illegible] is generally taking place. That [illegible] it will be sure. The institution that has long hung like a dark cloud over our country so long must give place to free labor, when the development of the resources of this fertile State will astonish the most inveterate worshipper of slavery."

The Original Emancipation Proclamation.—In response to a personal application, on behalf of the ladies, made by Hon. I. N. Arnold, during a recent visit to Washington, President Lincoln sent to the ladies of the Sanitary Fair, in Chicago, the original manuscript draft of the Emancipation proclamation. It was accompanied by the following letter:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, October 2[illegible], 1863.

To the Ladies having in charge the Northwestern Fair for the Sanitary Commission, Chicago, Illinois:

According to the request made in your behalf, the original draft of the Emancipation proclamation is herewith enclosed. The formal words at the top, and the conclusion, except the signature, you perceive, are not in my handwriting. They were written at the State Department, by whom I know not. The printed part was cut from a copy of the preliminary proclamation, and pasted on, merely to save writing.

I had some desire to retain the paper, but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers, that will be better. Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

The proclamation was exhibited during the Fair, with the understanding that it would be sold to whosoever would pay most for it, to be placed in the custody of some public institution. Who was the purchaser we have not learned. Charles A. Shaw of [illegible]ford, Me., offered $2,000, and it was reported that an agent of the British Museum had offered £2,000. A subscription was also started to purchase it for the Chicago Historical Society.

The Border States.—The pupils of the President in the Border States seem to be outstripping their master in the pursuit of political knowledge. While he has his book open to the page of two syllables, they have closed it, having just finished the last page. Two long years he taught Maryland the lesson of Emancipation in the hazy distance—a far-off good to be attained through much circumlocution and many years of patient waiting. Maryland has now replied to his modest advice, "If freedom is a blessing, *we will have it now.*" Missouri begs him to lend his aid to her, that she, too, may exorcise the evil spirit of slavery at once. And within a day or two an influential delegation from Tennessee has arrived here asking for assistance to enable them to rid the State of slavery and traitors. The memorial which these gentlemen present is signed by nearly two hundred slaveholders of Tennessee, and they express profound regret that the President should have exempted that State from the sweep of his Emancipation proclamation. They also assert that [illegible] State are to-day nearly all of them in favor of immediate emancipation, and that it is only the traitors and their secret sympathizers who cling to slavery. The President will receive these honest, earnest gentlemen on Monday, and what can he say in reply to their memorial? He must sympathize with them, and whatever he may say, I have not a doubt that when he acts it will be with and for them.

I have good news from still another and a more unpromising State. Kentucky is the next State to be revolutionized on this great question, and in fact the revolution has already made astounding progress. The work goes quietly on, but I have the opinion of one of her most prominent citizens, and himself known everywhere as a pro-slavery man, that the revolution in sentiment in Kentucky is so prodigious already, that a year hence a majority of its loyal citizens will be ready to make the same decision that Maryland recorded last Wednesday.—*Wash. Cor. Independent.*

The Future of the Negro.—A New Orleans correspondent of the New York *Times*, after giving a very interesting account of the trial of free labor on the abandoned plantations of Louisiana, closes his letter with the following paragraph.

"I can add but little to this picture of the dawn of American civilization, which I have in vain attempted to describe. I grant freely, for it is the fact, that the negro is low, degraded, ignorant and vicious. No matter how he became so, we take him as we find him. But I have seen enough to convince me (though I have always doubted it) that he is not irreclaimable. The basis of his character is docility and trustfulness, and these very characteristics have been relied on to make him, first a slave, and then a brute, that he might be kept a slave. But I see now that he can be made an honest man. In the almost anarchical condition of affairs which is to prevail in the South for a long time, the negroes may be unable to stem the tide of discouragement which will meet them every year. Their faith may die out when they shall meet, year after year, dishonest employers and lying officials. Many who will never meet any others may fail to rise above the condition to which two series of degrading influences and that terrible experience of a blasted faith will have reduced them. But if through the providence of God, the strength and the virtue shall be given to our government, to struggle honestly with the gigantic disorder, resulting from this rebellion, it will find most efficient and unexpected coöperation from the negro himself. In the meantime, let us have done with this miserable trifling, this wicked acquiescence in the prejudices generated out of our passion and ignorance. Let us look at the facts, and let us see, in this case which I have described, and in many other instances like it which actually exist, and are equally successful, the dawn of a better day—the regeneration of the labor of the Southern States."

An Infernal Traffic.—We call the attention of the Governor and of the local authorities of the State to one thing: Under the abominable rule of Gen. Schofield and Gov. Gamble in Missouri, and in violation and defiance of the proclamation of the President concerning the slaves of rebels, manumitted by the fact of their masters' rebellion, negroes are daily kidnapped. The free papers that were given them by the former administrators of the Department are torn up and trampled in the mud, and the poor wretches, after having enjoyed a brief season of freedom and hope, are made up into gangs and sent off, through the State of Illinois, to Kentucky, where they are sold for the South and a market—into bitter and, we sometimes fear, hopeless bondage. The river as a means of transit does not suit the purposes of the kidnappers when they have a cargo to sell; there are too many chances of escape, so our free State is used as a highway for the unlicensed and wicked traffic.

A hotel keeper in one of the Southern Counties lately told a gentleman who vouches for the trustworthiness and substantial correctness of the report, that within the year past, he alone had entertained more than 1,000 of these moving chattels, a large part of whom were, no doubt, legally as free as Gen. Schofield himself. It is time that this accursed commerce should come to an end. Every one of these men is, the moment that his foot presses our soil, enfranchised—is the owner of himself, and every time that such a one is persuaded or forced to be obedient to a superior power, for the purpose that we have named, an infraction of the law is committed, paralleled only by murder itself. To rob a man of his liberty is an offense only second in heinousness to the crime that deprives him of his life. We call on Gov. Yates to interpose. Schofield's military permits are worthless in Illinois, whatever their efficiency for the purposes of kidnapping in Missouri; against our statutes, as we are not in the department over which he unfortunately presides, they are powerless as a broken reed.

Missouri is struggling for emancipation, but as long as the cupidity of her "Conservatives" is stimulated by the chances which kidnapping and this horrible traffic afford, they are justified in putting a value on slave property, which emancipation would destroy; and as long as slavery, or its darker shadow—the stealing of free men and forcing them into bondage again—is a source of profit, so long will the efforts of emancipation be resisted. And to-day this open channel through our territory, whereby the stolen property has a rapid transit to a State in which the black banner is still defiantly waved in the face of progress, does more to retard the consummation of the hopes of the Missouri Unionists and to prevent the return of the people into obedience to the government than the army of Gen. Price or all the other enginery of the pirates' nest at Richmond.

We propose that this shall be closed up, and that not another man shall be kidnapped out of Illinois, and, in the exercise of the comity we owe to our neighbors we should not, even were there no considerations of humanity to be taken into the account, permit our laws to be broken. And, lastly, we owe it to our professions of Unionism that this commerce should stop. Every slave landed on the south side of the Ohio is finally passed on, for safe-keeping, into the rebellious States, and there becomes a potent, though perhaps an unwilling helper of the rebel cause. It is not our policy to furnish the enemy whom we are endeavoring to subdue with the means of resistance. Every able-bodied male slave is worth more to them than a six-pounder gun or five barrels of rifle powder. Shall we continue to permit reënforcements such as we have named to still go forward? We appeal to the Governor and the local authorities for an answer!—*Chicago Tribune.*

The following sums have been received at the office of the Women's Loyal National League since October 1st, and are gratefully acknowledged:

Mrs. T. E. Russell,	$1 00	L. C Thompson,	1 25
Caroline White,	2 55	A. B Pratt,	25
Avoca,	25	Miss Abby May,	2 00
Mrs. Burnham,	15	E. B. Hewes,	25
Mrs. J. S. Hunter,	3 10	F. H. Drake,	10
M. K. Hubbard,	1 08	Hiram A. Cutting,	2 00
C. L. Burr,	1 00	Parthena Clough,	2 63
Mrs. J. S. Griffing,	7 00	North East, Pa.,	1 00
Geo. M. Rice,	80	Honey Creek,	50
C. A. B. Lilley,	5 00	Mrs. Hyde,	1 14
E. A. Chamberlin,	1 00	Mrs. Jocelyn	1 00
Mrs. Jacobs,	12 45	Oliver Johnson,	50
J. F. Young,	4 50	Primrose, Iowa,	1 82
Dudley Willits,	25	Miss Fitz,	1 20
C. J. H. Nichols,	25	Sarah P. Garvin,	5 00
Bergen, N. Y.,	50	L. M. Davidson,	3 00
Brockfield Vt.,	30	Garretsville, Ohio,	3 00
Clarissa Snell,	1 05	DeKalb Co., Ill.,	50
Peoria Co., Ill.,	49	Northwood, Iowa,	86
Middlesex Village,	27	Mrs. Conrad,	2 00
M. A. E. Wager,	25	H. B. Hyde,	10
W. R. Hicks,	50	Grand Plain Mich.,	25
Mrs. H. M. T. Cutler,	2 00	Hon. Gerrit Smith,	100 00
L. A. Fayerweather,	10		

Susan B. Anthony, Sec.

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Receipts to October 1st.

I. Harmer	1 [illegible]	M. Brook	2 00
E. Black	2 00	M. A. [illegible]	4 00
A. Haslam	5 00	J. W. Vanleer	20 00
R. Winslow	5 00	J. A. Wright	50 00
E. Haines	2 50	Henry Grew (Legacy),	250 00
C. Paxson	3 00		

Sarah Pugh, Treas.

Special Notices.

Meeting at Chatham, Pa.—At the instance of the Loyal League of the women of Chester County, a public meeting will be held in the M. E. Church, Chatham, on Friday evening, the 27th inst., which will be addressed by J. Miller McKim. Subject: *The war and the light in which it should be regarded.*

THE UNAVAILING CRY

A Sermon for all Times, By Rev. Alexander Clark, Editor *School Visitor.*

Just Published—Price 10 cents, post paid.
Address W. S. and Alfred Martien, Publishers, 606 Chestnut st., Phila., Pa.

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE YOUNG WIFE.

BY FRA[illegible]

I saw her at the altar in her beauty,
Only three months ago,
Vowing herself to every wifely duty,
[illegible] three months ago;
Love, only love, from her bright eyes was beam
Hope, radiant hope, from every feature gl[illegible]mi
Only three months ago.

She stood beside the hero of her choosing,
Giving herself away:
Brave her response—she had no fear of losing—
"Love him I will, for aye."
Than dew-drop on the rose, her soul was [illegible]ar
And heaven with him came nearer, nearer, ne
Giving herself away.

To-day I saw her, and her eyes were tearful,
Only three months gone by
The shadow on her once fair brow was fearful
Ah! who shall tell us wh
Hope is already withering, love is dying,
All her pure soul to God in anguish crying
To give her leave to die.

Fair was her hero, but 'twas only seeming,
A few brief days of bliss
Were hers, and she was startled from her dre
By a vile serpent hiss:
In ribald blasphemy the words were spoken,
That shut her out from light and love, heart-b
Need we tell more than thi

Her voice no more hath power to charm his [illegible]
He grows each day more [illegible]
And now she knows him traitorous to her lovi
Her brow is worn and old.
Oh! take her, Heavenly Father, in thy keepi
To that bright world where there is no more [illegible]
Give the poor lamb thy fold.

WENDELL PHILLIPS AS AN ORATOR.*

From The Christian Examiner.

WERE there to be an Oration for the Crow [illegible] international character, England and Amer[illegible] ting forth rival claimants, probably few men [illegible] country would fail to name as the represent[illegible] our own land Wendell Phillips. It is but [illegible] that his most cherished opinions were shared [illegible] a handful of men, while the vast majorit[illegible] intensely imbittered against him; even now [illegible] jority look upon him with doubtful, even thou[illegible] ith admiring eyes, while a large minority, [illegible] least, deem him utterly pestiferous, a[illegible] quite as glad to abolish him as [illegible] slavery. Yet those who hate [illegible] most would hold up both h[illegible] tion, were the palm of ora[illegible] a to have supposed—that [illegible] triumph. By comm[illegible] acknow-ledgment of those w[illegible] those who deplore the fact, he is [illegible] orator of our land at the present day [illegible] *quidquam simile aut secundum.* Or if th[illegible] one who possesses rival powers, he is a man of that race in whose behalf Mr. Phillips has labored, the slave-born Frederick Douglass.

We do not forget others. Mr. Sumner is learned, exhaustive, pouderously eloquent. Mr. Beecher is a disconrser of incomparable vividness, fertility, and picturesqueness. Mr. Everett is a master in what one may call literary oratory, graceful, lucid, classic, elegant, impressive; but for the forum, *orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere.* Many others might be named with high praise, especially were pulpit eloquence, strictly speaking, to be brought into the account; for our country is fertile far beyond all others in modern times in oratorical gifts. But when all others are accredited with their proper excellence, Mr. Phillips, in a candid estimation, must, we think, be named as preëminent in forensic power.

The degree to which he is a native oratorical force may be suggested by the fact that, notwithstanding his preëminence, no one thinks of comparing him to any preceding orator. Almost every other man of literary eminence in America has been referred to some original in other lands and times. Irving was complimented by being named "the American Addison," Cooper "the American Scott," Dana "the American Coleridge" *(sic.)*; nay, it is incredibly affirmed by some that Nature has amused herself with the production of critics who could style Emerson an imitator of Carlyle; but the sportive Dame, we think, has never hatched a goose to cackle discovery of a foreign original for Wendell Phillips.

His speeches suggest no other speeches. We forget to ask what orator is his favorite, what one he has chiefly studied, whether Demosthenes, Cicero, Mirabeau, or Burke. Highly cultivated as he is, no man's eloquence, not that of Patrick Henry, nor of Jefferson's Indian chief Logan, ever sprang more from his own bosom, less from books. And this, we think, chiefly because it is no part of his aim to achieve eloquence for his own sake. He is saturated with unselfish purpose. He is intent on beneficent effects. He is eloquent partly because he does not try to be eloquent. He opens his heart to you as the Spring buds do theirs; and you never think of asking from whom he learned how to do so.

It is the function of the orator, as such, distinctively to persuade men to honorable action, or enkindle them to noble sentiment, on the basis of their *national* life. This element of nationality must always be more or less, directly or indirectly, present, and is of the very gist and essence of the orator's inspiration. *Eloquence* there may be in books, in parlors, wherever men speak or write; but *oratory* belongs above all to the forum; it stands in close connection with patriotism; its principal purpose is to induce national truth, justice, courage, discretion, or honorable pride, to connect political or judicial action with the reason and heart of man.

The aim of the preacher is to induce depth and rectitude of *personal* life. He appeals to the sense of personal responsibility; he aims to upbuild personal character; he enters to the privacies of the soul; he takes up each individual auditor to the summit of Sinai, and stands with him in the sole presence of the Highest; he strives to enhance those forces by which spiritual architectures are carried on, and to diminish those by which these are threatened. If the individual has duties toward the state, the preacher not only may, but in the just discharge of his own duty must, counsel their faithful and righteous fulfilment. He cannot urge all highest fidelities on the man, and countenance all infidelities in the citizen. He must follow the man into every stated department of his action, domestic, economical, political, social, and seek that in each he may acquit himself as a precious and immortal nature. It may happen, therefore, that the preacher and the forensic orator agree in the quality of their counsels; yet there will always be a difference in tone, because there is a difference in point of view. The orator is looking primarily to national justice and welfare; the preacher is looking primarily to private rectitude, to the spiritual prosperity of persons as such.

We may discriminate the position of a third speaker, namely, the lecturer. His chief aim is to induce intellectual and moral enlargement. Before all things else, he labors for the expansion of the human spirit—to place things in broader and more subtile relations, to enkindle new and widening sympathies, to awaken elevating interests, to confer upon the common life of man the dignity of knowledge, of appreciation, and of thought.

The lecturer, therefore, addresses man as a mind; the preacher addresses him as a soul; the orator addresses him as a definite and corporate social reality. The first would make him universal by thought; the second would give his being infinitude by placing it in purest vital connection with the Divine; the third would have him connect the higher contents of his being with his corporate social life.

Great orators belong more particularly to periods of change or of crisis in the destiny of nations, as the instances of Mirabeau, Cicero, and Demosthenes suggest. Properly, too, the orator is *conservative.* He appeals to men in behalf of old and established principles. This position is requisite for the highest oratorical effect; for if the speaker must establish principles, he at once falls into the attitude of the lecturer, and assumes it as his task rather to elucidate than to warn and persuade. Just in proportion, therefore, as the orator must propound anything new, he is cut off from the higher effects of his art. His position accordingly supposes in his audience a preëxisting community of faith, a preëxisting wealth of affection for certain ideas and institutions.

Hence, there is no eloquence among a degenerate, degraded, and spiritually impoverished people. They do not supply the conditions under which oratory can flourish. Demosthenes, in later times, would not have been Demosthenes, but would have gone to his grave with the stammer of his youth. Scepticism slays eloquence. The soul of all powerful oratory is belief. Without intense and able believing, the orator can only bewitch, not inspire. Without genuine, hearty believing among the people, he can only smoulder, not blaze.

Therefore the substratum of all great forensic eloquence must be certain *assumptions* common to ker and hearer. Assumption rules the world. ing else possesses the utmost power. And just oportion to the depth, breadth, and richness of body or soul of assumed principle in the bosom e people, are they in a condition to vitalize the r by their presence. And when, still further, st this deep-grounded, unquestioning faith there has come in some alien, insidious, invading element, persuasive by its appeal to fear, to avarice, to the love of indolent pleasure, just then is supplied to the orator that foothold and that occasion which he s.

us see, now, to what degree these conditions een supplied in the case of Mr. Phillips.

nation had assumed as its basis a doctrine of inhering in human beings simply as human. ilt our national edifice on assumed principles versal justice. We baptized these principles blood of battle; and having been victorious, ame forth from the crimson consecration to sent these principles before the world and to t their application in our interior politics. And ation was at the outset warm, hearty, inspi[illegible] faith it professed.

the other hand, here was the alien element, ry foreign from our faith, antagonistic to our iples, odious to our feeling, but well rooted g our institutions and traditions, having that ssion which is 'nine points of the law'; having e prestige of wealth, of power, of proud usage; having means to bribe commerce, to bribe -hunting ambition, to bribe partisanship; having means equally to overawe timidity, to win the s of peace and ease, and to war against assault; ly, encroaching, insidious, and utterly subversive of the whole spirit and significance of our nal life—lured by the prospect of a vi[illegible] in con[illegible] t upon which to spread itself, and of a power should overtop the world and dazzle the eye ence the tongue of criticism—it furnished an a- for patriotic alarm such as history never has ssed, and perhaps never may surpass.

re, then, were both the substratum and the sion for the orator's action and influence. On ne hand, we have the warm national faith—[illegible], too, of a resolute [illegible] people, [illegible] ialed by a quick flow [illegible] e other hand, here is the innovating, [illegible] ent, apparently sure of victory, nay, seeming to ready victorious.

o the arena thus prepared our orator steps with room and verge for whatever patriotic ion may glow in his bosom, and whatever per[illegible]on may dwell in his tongue.

d here we call attention to the fact that his on is *strictly* conservative. That of Demos[illegible]s was not more so. Terms have got strangely plied in our country; so that even the most tened of those who stood by the fundamental ideas of our polity have conceded to their opponents the title of conservative, while these opponents, though the partizans of a radical and subversive innovation, have appropriated the title without a ment's question of its fitness. But it was slavery at was alien and innovating; and its supporters in our country are radicals, in the odious and illegitimate sense of that word, that is, they are eradicators of central faiths in behalf of superficial interests. Mr. Phillips has himself tossed the word *conservatism* from his lips with scorn; but if those are not conservative who sustain the ground ideas of the national life, pray, to whom can the term apply?

He occupies, then, so far, the typical position of the orator. He holds to those faiths which give the nation a distinctive character, and he holds them as against innovation of the most sweeping and destructive kind.

But now come in certain peculiarities of his position, some favoring and some disputing his influence.

In the first place, he has had one conspicuous advantage. The fundamental principles of our nationality, so far as he is concerned with them, coincide with the principles of universal justice, and with the instinctive sentiments of all humane hearts. Never had forensic eloquence a broader or more open appeal to the souls of men. "No pent-up Utica contracts his powers"; he is universal in being national, he is a philanthropist in being a patriot; and he makes his plea, not to any partial sentiment, but to the totality of man's spiritual nature. So far he stands, perhaps, in a more advantageous position than any one of the classic names in oratory.

On the other hand, he has in one respect a position peculiarly unfavorable to those effects for which he labors. Our nation is young; the principles of our national life have had small time to take historical root, to become traditions and customs of thought; one may almost say that they are still in dispute. Many have been attracted by their breadth and boldness; many have given them a thoughtless or half-thinking verbal enunciation; few have meditated upon them profoundly, weighed their worth, found their rightful limits, and pledged to them a considerate and resolute fealty. But there are never many who adopt broad principles from *thought.* That is the special distinction of philosophical intellect. The greater number, much the greater number, must come to them by instinctive attraction, which custom and tradition alone will fully and finally confirm. Any great national or social principle has still, in general, a loose and wavering hold on masses of men until it has been rocked in the cradles of several generations. The faith in principles of freedom and equal justice—of justice to *all* men and races of men—had not among us this depth of historical root; and when the winds of mercenary interest, of personal ambition, of partisan passion, began to blow fiercely upon it, the shallow hold it had upon many hearts proved insufficient, and their faith lay prostrate in their souls.

It were easy to wonder at and blame this overmuch. It was doubtless disgraceful to us, but not unaccountably, nor perhaps inexcusably so. In truth, our great controversy represents, in some degree, a pure piece of historical advance. Hitherto there has been in the world little of *international conscience.* Nations have not charged themselves with the duty of justice toward each other. England, assuming to stand, and perhaps really standing, at the head of European civilization, robs Denmark, robs Spain, robs China, has robbed, indeed, right and left, whenever she could do so safely and to advantage. She may lift her hands in astonished reprobation of Napoleon's recent doings in Mexico; but the Emperor will hardly be able to better the instruction which her own example has afforded him. Peace in Europe has been maintained, not on any principle of international honor and justice, but confessedly on that of the balance of power. That is to say, England or France must forbear to "gobble up" the smaller and weaker States, not at all because nations owe justice to each other, but simply for the reason that, having done so, she would be more able to devour some larger neighbor. Balance of power meant balance of selfishness. Peace was established, not on a basis of conscience, but of distrust.

But if this be so in civilized Europe, how could we suppose that civilized states and races would exhibit much conscience toward those which are uncivilized? No, the very conception of applying the acknowledged principles of justice to the relations maintained with weaker and less cultivated races, the very conception of regarding them otherwise than as a prey, is new in the history of man—new, we mean, as an element of politics, and on a scale of national importance.

It must be added also, that, even in the minds of thoughtful men, the duties of civilization in this connection are not *perfectly* defined. It is easy to push the matter to a sentimental excess. We are not of those who think that the Pilgrim Fathers should have remained on board the Mayflower until a vote of the aborigines permitted them to land—or perhaps should not have decided to come hither at all, until they had sent a deputation to this continent, and bargained for the privilege of becoming a portion of its inhabitants. That they might have considered the Indians more, that they might have managed to live with them more amicably, may be, and doubtless is, true; but that they were bound to regard the savages as lawful possessors and owners of this continent, we by no means consider true. The final title to possession is use. In God's court of claims, he is the owner of a piece of property who can make it most serviceable to the being of man. We have, we must have, and therefore it is every way proper that we should have, our conventional arrangements with regard to private property. There can be no civilization without such, nor without a due respect for them. Yet property is forever stealing away, and by the law of the universe must steal away, from the hands of those who abridge, to the hands of those who enlarge its uses.

But while we will not concede to savages, above all to inveterate and incurable savages, the right of monopolizing a continent, if they choose to do so, yet it remains true, that this idea of a duty on the part of civilized toward uncivilized peoples is one as noble and necessary as it is new. No excess of application can belittle, nor in the end endanger it. History is about to make this piece of progress; and whoever opposes her will go under her advancing feet, and be crushed to powder.

History is not nice and delicate in her discriminations, nor in her procedure. She is rude and wholesale. The Himalayas and Andes were not weighed out in an apothecary's balance, and heaped up with a teaspoon; the heart of the planet has not been raised to a "comfortable" heat, like a warm bath, by thermometer; nevertheless here is, at last, the green and serviceable earth, with motherly hospitalities for her inhabitants. History, like the planet on which it appears, has its own fiery, uncontrollable impulse and evolution, not observing precisely the boundaries we prescribe in our studies, yet surely reaching good ends. Mohammedanism sweeps over idolatrous lands amid a multitudinous trampling of hoofs and flashing of scymitars; Protestantism foams into temples, and breaks over art, and decorum, and ancient remembrance, like the waves of an ocean storm over a stranded ship; Puritanism banishes beauty and hilarity and sport, and a thousand sweet amenities, from England; and Democracy in like manner goes surging irresistibly, rudely, over the face of the modern world, sure to have its course, though Carlyle rage and Napoleon imagine a vain thing. Crude, partial, extravagant, putting suffrages into the hands of imps and idiots, taking sides with irredeemable savagery against Puritan civilization, ill disciplined, noisy, self-asserting, expectorating, it nevertheless carries with it the present significance of human history; and its claim of justice for all men,—its claim that the doors of civilization shall remain forever open to the feet of aspiration, that all who come shall enter, not to be pillaged, but to be protected, and that even those who remain without shall be honorably considered—this grand claim has got to be fairly answered before the present turmoil of transition shall subside, and Peace unfold her white banner to the airs of a new morning in the world.

These opening purposes it is that our orator would advance by his personal effort. A child of the epoch, he is among the noblest and ablest of its servants. An orator, not a philosopher, born rather for the forum than for the school, he does not always make the discriminations we should desiderate, but he always does meet, in an admirable degree, the demands of his native position and chosen service.

"Hail to the chief who in triumph advances!"

The youth of those principles which are fundamental in our nationality has made our national faith in them unstable and shallow. Hence one great difficulty with which our orator has had to contend. He attempted the great ways of persuasion, the ground grew soft, and gave way under his feet. He must needs, therefore, begin laboring at foundations. He must indoctrinate the people at the same time that he w[illegible] to action. He must stand with one foot in the forum and the other in the lecture [illegible] is ill standing in [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] on both sides—above all, if the audiences represent different modes of thought and feeling. [illegible] this is the position which Mr. Phillips has been compelled to occupy. It was not so with Demosthenes. The faith and wishes of the Athenians were all assured, congruous, and unquestionable; the difference was only on questions of daring and expediency. Every one must see at a glance how favorable to eloquence was the simplicity and singleness of an orator's attitude then, compared with that of one addressing a people whose faith and wishes are ill-assured, inconstant, many doubting and some affirming that the fundamental principles of the national life are but "glittering generalities," not solid truth. The former is like a man who stands firmly on the earth, and has free use of both hands; the latter, like one who must use one hand to support his weight, while he labors with the other.

The result of this position has been the development of a new type of forensic eloquence—an eloquence more laden with doctrine, more intellectual, than has been heard in the open air before. At the same time, we affirm that no great orator of former times came into the forum for so majestic an advocacy, none represented an historical movement of equal grandeur. The orators of classic antiquity were seeking preservation of the national *form;* he has been aiming to preserve the *soul* of our nation, and that, too, not merely because it is ours, but from absolute devotion to justice and truth. A position of more dignity has seldom been held by man.

It must be conceded, also, that he has proved himself worthy of his vocation. More of intrepidity and persistency, a devotion more entire and unflinching, cannot be demanded. Bold, chivalrous, straightforward, unhesitating, unequivocal, he has feared no danger, he has spared no cost; he has put his whole heart into a work to which only the nobility of his own spirit called him; he has lavished his life in an heroic labor, for which his immediate outward reward was to be only the same that from time immemorial has awaited those who have proffered themselves to be champions of the weak against the strong, and of the despised few against the reputable many. His spirit has been equal alike to his gifts and his position: what need to say more? We are not required to praise him: history will do that sufficiently.

But has he made no mistakes? In our judgment, he has sometimes been in error, both as to the special objects of his advocacy, and as to the mode of his working. We shall name two instances of what we deem such error, one of which has already become obsolete.

His proper position, as we have shown, was that of a patriot, a friend and preserver of his country. Slavery was foreign, intrusive, destructive. Nothing can be more deadly to any government than that which subverts its fundamental ideas. It is superfluous to argue this point now, for the fact itself is blazing before every man's eyes and thundering at every man's ears. By the flames of war, and in the red letters of its carnage, even the blind must see that slavery was poisonous to the republic, and that the only hope of public safety lay in purging away this venom. Whoever, therefore, labored for these medicinal effects was a true friend and physician of the republic, and should have assumed that position openly and held it persistently.

By making his position and purpose clear in this respect, he might hope to enlist in the labors of reform that sentiment of instinctive, half-blind patriotism, which in a people that has power and promise of continuance is sure to be a force of immense importance. Few men are reasoners to any predominating extent; few have rational conscience in such degree as to sway and control their natures. The action of multitudes must be in great part instinctive, and if free reason and conscience come in at all, they must enter as the allies of instinct, not as its enemies. The national orator, therefore, who would nobly and usefully persuade the people, will act on a vantage-ground of incalculable value, if he appear so distinctly under the banners, and as the exponent, of patriotism, as to draw the instinctive love of country to his side.

Mr. Phillips did otherwise. He threw away this vast advantage. He chose to assault the fortress from without, rather than to defend it from within. He appeared as the foe of national institutions. Because the alien and innovating element of slavery had obtained some dubious foothold in the organic law of the land, and because it had stained the statute-book and usurped administration, this bold and chivalrous spirit, in company with a few others equally intrepid and devoted, declared enmity against the very institutions which had been thus wronged.

It was, we deem, an act of impatience—the impatience, indeed, of brave and self-forgetful souls, an impatience lustrous with all noble feeling and energy, but nevertheless, by comparison with those highest possibilities of action which these men themselves suggest, an infirmity. It was the assumption of a greater task, instead of a less; for the men of the North could have been persuaded to extinguish slavery far more easily than to break up the Union. It was an attempt to conquer a kingdom with an army of officers only—that is, of those in whom intellectual and moral conviction can be the controlling element, leaving out the rank and file—those, namely, who are governed chiefly by honorable instinct, though in obedience to this they can equal any devotion or valor of which the chief of men are capable.

Perhaps it will be said that this was with him and his compeers no matter of choice. Most surely not of *wilful* choice. Undoubtedly they were impelled to it by the sincerest conviction. But that is the misfortune we are speaking of. The conviction itself is the calamity. In our judgment, it was due to a vehemence of recoil from the things they abhorred, not *purely* to a necessity in the case itself. So far, indeed, as it operated to keep them out of party politics, and hold them to the merits of the case, it was undoubtedly beneficial; nevertheless, in individualifying the disease with the body affected by it, and in assuming, by consequence, the attitude, not of reform, but of revolution, we judge that they enhanced their difficulties, weakened their forces, led thousands of honest men to mistake their fundamental purposes, and hindered the cause for which they were sacrificing ease, fortune, repute place, all that selfishness can covet, and much that social feeling may honorably desire, and in comparison with whose prosperity they counted their heart's blood but as water.

But this is past. Tested by events, they proved themselves candid as they had ever been courageous; and the clarion note of our orator rang out in behalf of Union for the sake of justice and freedom.

But it may also be alleged against Mr. Phillips, that he uses personal criticism and invective in excess. We think the charge not wholly without foundation. Let us be understood. If he be accused of native bitterness or acridity, we think the accusation misses its mark most notably. In truth, it is the *absence* of acrid elements in his composition, the total and singular want of malign feeling, which has enabled him to use such severity without becoming suspicious of himself. A little base hatred in his bosom would have checked his tongue, for it would have given his invective a reactive sting, and brought it into collision with conscience. In truth, he is one of the most genial and friendly of human beings, strictly incapable of a malign emotion.

His severities of censure are partly the product of pure moral indignation, and so far belonged to the legitimate resources of the orator; and partly they are bred from a special theory of action, and so far we visit them with some blame. He has a theory that personal criticism is a more efficient agent in reform than any other; and though it brings upon himself hatred and opprobrium, yet for its efficiency he will use it, be the cost to himself what it may. His adoption of this instrumentality is part and parcel of his uncompromising, unselfish, chivalrous devotion to the grand objects of his life; yet we think it erroneous. But how did he arrive at his theory?

When the Abolitionists began their great enterprise, the multitude of men who esteemed them pernicious sought at first to crush and extinguish them, by means of mobs, halters, social exclusions, opprobrium—in fine, by a general chorus of hiss and menace. The attempt failed. One plain man, who had a genius for being sure of his own will, said, "I will speak: I will be heard." Something in the tone shook the cofidence of assault. Then Respectability had a bright thought. It said, smiling, 'Speak, then, if you will: but as for being heard, that is another matter; your tongue is your own, but our ears are ours.' Anti-slavery was to be ignored. Its orators might orate to one another till their ears were deafened and their tongues outworn; who cared?

Then it was that anti-slavery oratory began experimenting at cures for deafness. We must admit that it experimented to purpose. It made the "greatest medical discovery of the age." It caused the ears of men to drag their unwilling owners within the sound of hated voices. It quickened their auditory powers till they could hear through walls of any thickness. And it did this by resorting to stinging personal criticism. Twang went the bow, the barbed arrow flew, and the callous ear suddenly awoke into astonishing powers of apprehension.

Audience was obtained. Now let there be a change of tone. Now let these people learn that we resorted to severities unwillingly; that our permanent purpose is not to wound, but to guide.

Alas! no, the temporary expedient had taken root and become a system of action. Honestly adopted, gallantly and unselfishly pursued, it is in our judgment mistaken, nevertheless. Give us the minimum of denunciation. Necessary it is at times; let necessity alone call it forth. Be as brave and persistent to assume candor in men, as to pierce their uncandor or to [illegible] their wrath.

We think Mr. Phillips not sufficiently sparing and considerate in the use of personal invective. We think him sometimes blamably hasty in his judgments. We think him subject to the influence of moods and occasions to a degree that diminishes his authority. We do not believe it quite feasible for any man to become a platform Rhadamanthus. But we know that even his mistakes have a noble origin; and now that the action of our government is to be mainly coincident with his purposes, and there is opening for him a broad field of happy activity, we look to see him even more lustrous in alliance with the state than he has been in resisting it. And while we could wish the special manners of the opposition cast aside, we can, with respect to the purposes he shall cherish, and the powers he shall employ, wish him nothing better than that he may continue to be himself.

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*SPEECHES, LECTURES, AND LETTERS. By WENDELL PHILLIPS. Boston: James Redpath. Seventh Edition. 1863.

THE FARMER'S HOME.

——Come with me
Down this rude lane ablaze with golden-rod
And fresh with fragrance from the up-turned sod,
To where yon farm-house lifts its modest head,
By peace, content and health inhabited.
The tranquil kine, reposing in the grass,
Turn dreamy eyes upon us as we pass;
The shy sheep gaze askance, and chanticleer
Disturbs the silence with a lusty cheer
From the far barn-yard: sights and sounds are these
To make the saddest cheerful and at ease.
How full the quiet spot of sweet perfumes,
Aromas of fresh grass and clover-blooms!
How like a Sabbath stillness, or like prayer,
The cloistered calm of this sequestered air!
Anon the swinging scythe perchance is heard;
Anon the sacred, Sabbath calm is stirred
By sounding flail or woodman's axe anear,
Reëchoing through the forest sharp and clear:
The dim, old forest, where the children go
A-nutting when the leaves are all aglow
Beneath the frost-king's touch. Such merry routs
The little people tell of thereabouts!
And then the huskings and the apple-bees,
The pleasant pic-nics underneath the trees—
What city belle can boast such joys as these?
But not OUTSIDE the modest farm-house dwells
Its sweetest charm; that quiet roof-tree tells
Of love and trust beneath its humble dome,
And all that glads and sanctifies a home.
Here the good house-wife plies her cheerful tasks
From morn to eve, nor gift nor guerdon asks,
Save the sweet payment of her husband's smile
And God's dear love and health and strength the while.
Her rosy daughters, not too fine to soil
Their pretty fingers with the marks of toil,
With cheerful patience sew the lengthened seam,
Prepare the meal or churn the yellow cream,
Or lead the toddling baby that essays
Unequal steps about the household ways,
Or hasten to the door when daylight fails
To unburden "father" of his brimming pails.
Thrice happy man, thrice happy father he!
His smoking supper ready, on his knee
The crowing baby, and around his board
Health and content, he well may thank the Lord!
Life has its trials, whatsoe'er our lot;
But if there be, on God's dear earth, one spot
Crowned more than others with His favors lent,
'Tis such a home as this: All sweet content,
All peaceful, heavenly influences meet
To purify, enrich and make it sweet.
Within, without, around it and above,
Good thoughts, like blessed angels, rove and rove.
The very cattle, knee-deep in the brooks,
Have lessons for us in their patient looks;
The silent hills, slow-stretching far away,
The shady hollows with the lambs at play
In their cool bosoms, the rejoicing rills,
The sobbing of the lonely Whip-poor-wills,
The misty glories of the purpling morn,
The night's deep splendor when the stars are born,
The corn up-springing 'neath the sun and rain,
The ripening fruitage and the nodding grain,
The changing seasons as they come and go,
Winter, the pilgrim, with his coif of snow,
Spring the sweet charmer, Summer all ablaze
'Neath the rich dower of her meridian days,
And, best of all, glad Autumn blithe and sweet,
Laying her wealth uncounted at our feet!—
Who, living out his peaceful life among
Scenes such as these, more eloquent than tongue
Of priest or prelate, who, if he be wise
To learn the lessons set before his eyes,
But shall imbibe the wisdom they impart,
And win the blessing of the "pure in heart"!

CAROLINE A. MASON.

THE STORY OF A FUGITIVE.

[Rev. Newman Hall, in the speech he made in Exeter Hall, London, at the close of Mr. Beecher's address, told the following story:]

LAST evening I was visited by a fugitive slave. Her intelligent countenance, her modest demeanor, her clear, calm, refined voice at once interested me. I soon learnt her history. Her owner, as I at once guessed, was both her father and her master (shame). While she was yet a child, she so felt the cruelties of slavery that she escaped. She was pursued, tracked by bloodhounds, brought back, and subjected to the fearful torments which are generally inflicted upon a captured slave. She was made to marry early, and became a mother. Then she was employed as wet nurse to her father's children—that is, she suckled her own brothers and sisters (sensation). But the grief that she felt most was the selling of her own little girl at the age of ten years. Then as child after child was born she wished that child after child might die rather than endure the cruelties which she had suffered. With all the tender instincts of a mother, she yet rejoiced to see her babe in the cradle of death. She had been taught to believe at first that her owner was her God, and for a time she did believe that her master was God Almighty. But when she afterwards learned that there was a God in heaven she looked to Him for help, and resolved at any risk to get away. She fled to the woods, and was soon pursued, and her master was so near her at one time that she heard him, when hiding in the hollow of a tree, saying that if he caught her she would never put a step on the ground again. "Surely," I said, "he would not have maimed you?" "No," she said, "he would have tarred, feathered, and burned me alive"—a fate which many a captured fugitive has undergone as an example to others. For ten days she wandered in the woods, feeding, or rather starving, upon roots and leaves, till she was found under a hedge, exhausted, by a good Samaritan, a minister of the Gospel, who assisted her, and got her shipped in a vessel that was going to New York, and thence to Calcutta, from whence she has come to England. On her right ankle there is the mark of the red-hot branding-iron put there by her father, and on her left shoulder is the mark of the red-hot branding-iron put there by her father! (Shame.) On her wrists you will see the scars made by the links of the chains by which she was bound by her father, and where the iron gnawed into her flesh! (Sensation.) She bears the mark of a terrible blow struck by her father with a heavy iron on her side, which has made her crooked and incapacitated her for hard work. It is for the purpose of maintaining and extending the liberty to exercise such abominations as these over four million of their fellow-creatures that the Southerners are in arms (cheers). It is for the purpose of maintaining a government, and the carrying out of the laws which will put a stop to these abominations—it is now actually and avowedly, whatever it may have once been, for the purpose of sweeping the American continent of such atrocities as these—that the North is fighting (cheers). Can there be a moment's hesitation on which side—if there is to be a quarrel—the sympathies of Christian and free England shall be placed? (Cries of "No.")

A MISER'S MARRIAGE.—A miser who was asked why he had married a girl from his own kitchen, said that the union was attended with a double advantage—it saved him not only the expense of a wife, but the waste of a servant.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

GOD'S OWN POOR

[illegible] Burmah's heath[illegible]
[illegible] away o'er ocean's foam;
Teach them, *teach them,* who can [illegible]
We have heathen nearer home—
God's own Poor.

Tell me not of Hindoo mothers,
By the Gunja weeping wild:
Our own crockodiles of slavery
Swallow many a mother's child—
God's own Poor.

Slavery's prison-pen unpeopled,
Slavery's bastile bolt unbarred,
On us pour their pleading thousands,
Crushed in soul, in body scarred—
God's own Poor.

From the camp and hut and hovel
Comes the Macedonian cry,
Come and clothe us ere we perish,
Come and teach us ere we die
Helpless Poor.

Now [illegible] Ethiopia
Stretches [illegible] her hands to thee:
Teach her how to read the story
How Christ [illegible] *Des[illegible] free*"—
[illegible] Poor.

J. R. M'Kee.
Missionary to the Freedmen.

Nashville, Tenn., Oct., [illegible]

SLAVERY IN NEW ORLEANS.

THE two following anecdotes from Mr. Parton's forthcoming book on Gen. Butler's government in New Orleans have a painful interest as recent and authentic records by eye-witnesses of the shames which a kind God is wiping away from our nation.

THE OLD GENTLEMAN WHO THOUGHT A MAN COULD DO WHAT HE LIKED WITH HIS OWN SERVANT.

A Lieutenant searched a certain house in New Orleans, in which Confederate arms were reported to be concealed. Arms and tents were found stowed in the garret, which were removed to that grand repository of contraband articles, the Custom-House. A gentleman of venerable aspect, with long white hair, and a form bent with premature old age, was the occupant of the house from which the arms and tents were taken.

In the twilight of an evening soon after the search, the most fearful screams were heard proceeding from the yard of the house, as if a human being was suffering there the utmost that a mortal can endure of agony. A sentinel, who was pacing his beat near by, ran into the yard, where he beheld a hideous spectacle. A young mulatto girl was stretched upon the ground on her face, her feet tied to a stake, her hands held by a black man, her back uncovered from neck to heels. The venerable old gentleman with the flowing white hair was *seated* in an arm-chair by the side of the girl, at a distance convenient for his purpose. He held in his hand a powerful horse-whip, with which he was lashing the delicate and sensitive flesh of the young girl. Her back was covered with blood. Every stroke of the infernal instrument of torture tore up her flesh in long dark ridges. The soldier, aghast at the sight, rushed to the guard-house, and reported what he had seen to his sergeant, and the sergeant ran to headquarters and told the General. Gen. Butler sent him flying back to stop the old miscreant, and ordered him to bring the torturer and his victim to headquarters the next morning.

The sergeant hurried back and rescued the girl from the lash.

About nine the same evening, the sergeant came again to headquarters, breathless, reporting that they were torturing the girl again, as the most heartrending shrieks were heard coming from an upper room of the house. Gen. Butler ordered him to arrest all the inmates of the house, and keep them in the guard-house all night, and bring them before him in the morning. On returning to the house, the sergeant found that the second outcry was caused by washing the lacerated back of the poor girl with strong brine. They do this at the South on the pretense that it causes the wounds of the lash to heal more quickly and with less pain. The real object is to make them heal without such scars as would lessen the value of the slave at the auction-block. It is said really to have that effect; and the operation has the further charm of being more exquisitely painful than the punishment itself, since the flooding of the back with brine revives the dull sensitiveness of the nerves, calls back the dead agony to life, renews, in one instant, the anguish of each several stroke, and that anguish intensified. The whole extent of the sufferer's back is one biting, burning, piercing, maddening pain.

In the morning, the hoary wretch and his tortured slave were brought to the General's office. The upper part of her dress was opened. It was a hideous and horrible sight.

"What have you to say, sir?" said Gen. Butler to the old man?

He said the girl had given information respecting the arms and tents in his garret, and she was going to run away.

"It is false, sir," said the General, "so far as the information is concerned. We had our information from another source. What was the cause of the second outcry?"

The old man said he did not know. The General asked the girl. She said it was master washing her with brine.

"Is this so?" asked the General.

"Yes."

"You d—d old rascal! What could tempt you to treat a human being so?"

"She is my servant, and I suppose I may do what I like with her. I washed her to relieve her from pain."

"To *relieve* her? Well, sir, I shall commit you to Fort Jackson."

"General, I am a native of South Carolina; my health is infirm. It will kill me."

"I can't help that. And see that you behave well, or you shall have precisely the same punishment that you have given this poor girl, and to relieve your pain, you shall be washed down with brine."

The old native of South Carolina went to Fort Jackson, where I am happy to be able to state, he died in a month. Gen. Butler gave the girl her freedom, and assigned her a sum of money sufficient to set her up in some little business, such as colored girls carry on in New Orleans.

THE "HIGH-TONED" MR. LANDRY AND HIS SLAVE DAUGHTER.

One Sunday morning, while Gen. Butler was seated at the breakfast table, Major Strong, a gentleman who was not given to undue emotion, rushed into the room, pale with rage and horror.

"General," he exclaimed, "there is the most damnable thing out here!"

The General followed him to the office. There he found the staff assembled, standing round a woman, gazing upon her with flashing eyes, their countenances betraying mingled pity and fury. The servants of the house were crowding about the doors of the room. The woman who was the object of so much attention was nearly white, aged about twenty-seven. Her face showed at the first glance that she was one of those unfortunate creatures whom *some* savages regard with a kind of religious awe, and whom civilized beings are accustomed to consider peculiarly entitled to tenderness and forbearance. She was simple-minded. Not absolutely an idiot, but imbecile, vacant, half silly.

"Look here, General," said Major Strong, as he opened the dress of this poor creature.

Her back was cut to pieces with the infernal cowhide. It was all black and red—red where the infernal instrument of torture had broken the skin, black where it had not. To convey an idea of its appearance, Gen. Strong used to say that it resembled a very rare beefsteak, with the black marks of the gridiron across it.

No one ever saw Gen. Butler so profoundly moved as he was while gazing upon this pitiable spectacle.

"Who did this?" he asked the girl.

"Master," she replied.

"Who is your master?"

"Mr. Landry."

Landry was a respectable merchant living near headquarters, not unknown to the members of the staff.

"What did he do it for?" asked the General.

"I went out after the clothes from the wash," said she, "and I stayed out late. When I came home, master kicked me and said he would teach me to run away."

"Orderly go to Landry's house and bring him before me."

In a few minutes Landry entered the office—a spare, tall, gentlemanlike person of fifty-five.

"Mr. Landry," said the General, "this is infamous. The girl is evidently simple. It is the awfulest spectacle I ever beheld in my life."

At this moment Major Strong whispered in the General's ear a piece of information which caused him to compare the faces of the master and the slave. The resemblance between them was striking.

"Is this woman your daughter?" asked the General.

"There are reports to that effect," said Landry.

The insolent nonchalance of the man, as he replied to the last question, so inflamed the rage of all who witnessed it, that it needed but a wink from the General to have set a dozen infuriated men at his throat. The General merely said,

"I am answered, sir."

The General, for once, seemed deprived of h power to judge with promptness. "He remained some time," says an eye-witness, "apparently lost abstraction. I shall never forget the singular expr sion on his face.

"I had been accustomed to see him in a storm passion at any instance of oppression or flagrant justice; but on this occasion he was too deeply fected to obtain relief in the usual way.

"His whole air was one of dejection, almost listle ness; his indignation too intense, and his anger stern, to find expression even in his countenance.

"Never have I seen that peculiar look but on th or four occasions similar to the one I am narrati when I knew he was pondering upon the bale curse that had cast its withering blight upon around, until the manhood and humanity w crushed out of the people, and outrages such as above were looked upon with complacency, and perpetrators treated as respected and worthy citiz —and that he was realizing the great truth that, h ever man might endeavor to guide this war to advantage of a favorite idea or sagacious policy, Almighty was directing it surely and steadily for purification of our country from this greatest of tional sins.

"After sitting in the mood which I have descri the general again turned to the prisoner, and sai a quiet, subdued tone of voice:

"'Mr. Landry, I dare not trust myself to dec to-day what punishment would be meet for your fense, for I am in that state of mind that I fe might exceed the stric demands of justice. I sh therefore, place you under guard for the present til I conclude upon your sentence.'"

The next morning came troops of Landry's frie to tell the General what an honorable, what a h toned," what an *amiable* gentleman Mr. Landry and how highly he was respected by all who k him. They said that he had had his losses; the had half-ruined him; his friends had observed tha had been *irritable* of late, poor man; and, no do he had struck his daughter harder than he inte His wife and his *other* children came to plead for A legal gentleman appeared, also, to do what possible for him in the way of argument.

General Butler decided the case thus: La should give his daughter her freedom, and settle her a thousand dollars.

Being in mortal terror of Fort Jackson, he gl complied with these terms. The poor girl went that day a free woman, and a trustee was appoi to administer her little fortune and see that no ther harm befell her.

It was a light penalty for such a crime. I the General had treated the case *à la* Wellingto rung for three poles and a rope, and had the wr hanged, that Sunday morning, in the nearest pu square. God and men would have applauded deed, and there would have been no more wo whipping in New Orleans while the flag of the U States floated over the Custom-House.

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Shepley to let them enjoy the right of voting at the next election. You will find an interesting account of the proceedings in *The Times* of this morning, which was, indeed, the *only* paper that had any notice whatever of it. It is unquestionably one of the most important and significant meetings which have ever taken place in this city; for it has opened the door to the free discussion of that vast and difficult question—a question which may be postponed, but cannot ultimately be avoided—what is the status of the colored free man in Louisiana?

You will find the address to Gov. Shepley, a well-written and temperate document; many parts of it put with a clearness and soundness of logic quite unanswerable. The meeting, which consisted of some six or seven hundred people, was one of the most orderly and well-conducted that could be imagined; the speaking excellent, and the gradations of color, from black to white, so gradual, that it was utterly impossible for any but the most practiced expert to say, in many cases, whether a man belonged to the Anglo-Saxon or African side of the fence. Indeed, if whiteness of skin has anything to do with the question, the colored men there present would belong more to the Anglo-Saxon, Gallic, Celtic or any other white race than the African.

The object of the meeting was most clearly summed up in the speech of Capt. Pinchbeck, a colored officer in the United States army. He said that neither he nor his fellow-citizens had any favors to ask of the United States government; they only demanded, as a right, that they should be allowed the suffrage. They were fighting our battles, and were willing to fight them. They did not ask for *social equality*, and did not expect it, but they demanded *political rights*. They wanted to be MEN. He cared not for the past, but the future. He believed that if *colored people were citizens, they had a right to vote; if they were not citizens, they were exempt from the draft.*

As to the abstract *right* of the matter, this last paragraph looks certainly like a poser. But the view which most sensible people here are taking—real uncompromising friends of the colored race—is, that this is not the best time to be urging these rights when, as Dr. Dortie very aptly remarked, "their friends had enough to carry already." There is no use plucking green fruit when, by a little more waiting it will come to rich maturity; no use killing the goose that is even now laying its golden eggs.

NEMO.

To his Excellency Brig.-Gen. GEORGE F. SHEPLEY, *Military Governor of Louisiana.*

The undersigned respectfully submit the following to his Excellency:

That they are natives of Louisiana and citizens of the United States: that they are loyal citizens, sincerely attached to the country and the Constitution, and ardently desire the maintenance of the national unity, for which they are ready to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives.

That a large portion of them are owners of real estate, and all of them are owners of personal property; that many of them are engaged in the pursuits of commerce and industry, while others are employed as artisans in various trades; that they are all fitted to enjoy the privileges and immunities belonging to the condition of citizens of the United States; and among them may be found many of the descendants of those men whom the illustrious Jackson styled "his fellow-citizens" when he called upon them to take up arms to repel the enemies of the country.

Your petitioners further respectfully represent that, over and above the right which, in the language of the declaration of Independence, they possess to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, they are supported by the opinion of just and loyal men, especially by that of Edward Bates, Attorney-General, in the claim to the right of enjoying the privileges and immunities pertaining to the condition of citizens of the United States; and, to support the legitimacy of this claim, they believe it simply necessary to submit to your Excellency the following considerations, which they beg of you to weigh in the balance of law and justice.

Notwithstanding their forefathers served in the army of the United States in 1814–1815, and aided in repelling from the soil of Louisiana a haughty enemy, over-confident of success, yet these and their descendants have ever since, and until the era of the present rebellion, been estranged and even repulsed, excluded from all rights, from all franchises, even the smallest, when their brave fathers offered their bosoms to the enemy to preserve the territorial integrity of the republic.

During this period of forty-nine years they have never ceased to be peaceable citizens, paying their taxes on assessments of more than nine million dollars.

At the call of Gen. Butler they hastened to rally under the banner of Union and liberty; they have spilled their blood and are still pouring it out for the maintenance of the Constitution of the United States; in a word, they are soldiers of the Union, and they will defend it so long as their hands have strength to hold a musket.

While Gen. Banks was at the siege of Port Hudson, and the city threatened by the enemy, your Excellency called for troops for the defence of the city, and they were foremost in responding to the call, having raised the first regiment in the short space of forty-eight hours.

In consideration of this fact, as true and clear as the sun which lights this great continent: in consideration of the services already performed and still to be rendered by them to their common country, they humbly beseech your Excellency to cast your eyes upon a loyal population, awaiting with confidence and dignity the proclamation of those inalienable rights which belong to the condition of citizens of the great American republic.

Theirs is but a feeble voice claiming attention in the midst of the grave questions raised by this terrible conflict, yet, confident of the justice which guides the action of the government, they have no hesitation in speaking what is prompted by their hearts. "We are men, treat us as such."

General, the petitioners refer to your wisdom the task of deciding whether they, loyal and devoted men, who are ready to make every sacrifice for the support of the best government which man has been permitted to create, are to be deprived of the right to assist in establishing in the new convention a civil government in our beloved State of Louisiana, and also in choosing their representatives, both for the Legislature of the State and for the Congress of the nation.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND."

THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society congratulate its members and friends that, through the madness, rebellion, and secession of the South, avowedly in behalf of its Heaven-accursed and world-abhorred slave system—involving the country in a civil war of the hugest proportions and the most sanguinary character, which still continues its desolating work—the constitutional powers of the Federal government are now ample to decree the immediate and total abolition of slavery. They believe that, as a measure of national peace and unity, of humanity and justice, such a decree should be passed by the ensuing Congress at as early a period in the session as practicable—thus not only sustaining the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln of January 1st, 1863, but also effectually disposing of that remnant of the slave institution which was exempted by the proclamation aforesaid, in such a manner as may seem most equitable and expedient by Congress.

The warrant for this procedure is to be found in the still greatly imperilled state of the republic, and in the legitimate functions of the government that may be exercised in such an alarming crisis. By common law, an individual has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law. In view of international law, a nation is an individual, and has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law; one of those means being the destruction of any dynasty or institution that imperils national life. Slavery has struck at the life of the nation, and declared its own existence incompatible with that of the nation. Hence the nation, acting through its official organs, has the right to abolish slavery throughout its dominions; and past events demonstrate alike the necessity and duty of exercising this right without delay and without compromise.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, therefore, deeply impressed with the importance of a general coöperation of the friends of impartial liberty at this time, in order to influence and secure the action of Congress in the manner described, hereby announce, that they have resolved to put forthwith into the lecturing field as many agents as the funds of the Society will warrant, whose sole work shall be to enlighten the public mind on this subject, stimulating to a wide-spread movement in favor of universal emancipation and thus make the recurrence of another SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION an impossible event.

To sustain and increase the number of these agents, the Committee solicit the generous contribution and donations of all who desire to see the speedy suppression of the war, and in the fullest sense "LIBERTY AND UNION" made "ONE AND INSEPARABLE."

In furtherance of this patriotic and Christian object, the "Woman's Loyal National League" at New York has taken the field, in advance, to procure to a petition to the next Congress, for the total abolition of slavery, A MILLION OF SIGNATURES on the part of the loyal women of the republic. It deserves all possible encouragement and success, and we shall extend to it the heartiest coöperation. But let the loyal MEN be equally zealous and resolved to be as potentially heard in the same manner, by the same body. Let such a petition be sent to Congress from every city, town, village and hamlet in all the loyal States. No time is to be lost. "*One last, best effort now!*"

The Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society is WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Mass. Donations may also be sent to OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq, Anti-Slavery Office, 48 Beekman street, New York, and to J. MILLER MCKIM, Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia, Pa.

☞ Editors of newspapers friendly to the object here announced, are respectfully requested to insert this announcement in their columns.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1863.

CELEBRATION OF THE THIRD DECADE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

AT the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in the city of New York, in May last, it was unanimously

Resolved, That in accordance with usage, and from reasons of obvious fitness, it is proper that the completion of another Decade of the Society's existence should be marked by a special public meeting devoted to a general review and survey of the cause; and that therefore this Society, when it adjourns on this occasion, will adjourn to meet in the city of Philadelphia, on the third day of December next, then and there to celebrate, in an appropriate manner, the thirtieth—and we would fain hope the final—anniversary of its formation.

In accordance with this vote, the Executive Committee hereby announce that the THIRD DECADE of the Society will be held in Philadelphia, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, Dec. 3d and 4th, 1863.

Historically, it will be an occasion of thrilling interest and joyous congratulation, unequalled in the eventful career of the Society since its formation. Unquestionably, it will be largely attended by the friends of universal liberty representing every section of the country loyal to the government. Who among them will need any stronger appeal than the simple announcement of the fact to induce him to be present, if circumstances should permit? Let them make their arrangements accordingly. "Whosoever will, let him come"—come in the spirit of Justice and love—come as remembering those in bonds as bound with them—come as one abhorring "the guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man"—come to put down the rebellion by helping to exterminate the hideous system from which it has legitimately sprung.

A strong array of able and eloquent speakers will be in attendance.

In behalf of the Executive Committee.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS,
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, } *Secretaries.*

Pennsylvania Annual Meeting.—The Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 5th of December, at 10 o'clock, a.m. A full attendance of members and friends is earnestly requested.

JAMES MOTT President.

J. M. MCKIM, Cor. Sec.

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

IN a very few days the XXXVIIIth Congress will assemble, for good or for evil to the country, according to its works. It is within its own choice whether it shall be the most illustrious and venerable that ever met—that ever can meet, indeed, if it do its duty—or sink into an insignificance of inaction, or an infamy of willing wickedness, such as has damned to fame not even the worst of its predecessors. "That ever can meet," we say, for it is scarcely imaginable that such a power and opportunity of good and evil can ever rest again in any American National Legislature. The destiny of the nation is to be settled, by the constituted authorities or in spite of them, before the next Congress can come into being. The country cannot endure the strain of this war for two years longer. Before December, 1865, the war will have given place to a peace, beneficent and honorable, or mischievous and disgraceful, according as its opportunities are used well or ill by those who shall seize and guide them aright. Of all those on whom the responsibility of the future of the country rests, there are none charged with a greater share of it than the members of the present Congress. The great questions, the solution of which is to be the excuse of "all the waste of wealth and loss of life" of this conflict, to foreign nations and to future ages, are to be settled in one way or the other before they are discharged of their functions by process of time. Either the Confederacy is to be recognized through our inability to reduce the rebellion, or the rebellion is to be suppressed including the abolition of slavery with the process, or the war is to come to an end by a compromise purchasing the guaranty of a united territory by that of a continuance of slavery, and that within the space of two years, and, probably of less than one. We can conceive of no fourth termination which can put an end to hostilities. And we wish we could be as absolutely certain of the better part being chosen, as many of our more sanguine friends deem it to be.

We hold that it is absolutely within the competency of the incoming Congress to give a direction to the policy of the country which shall make any settlement showing any grace to slavery an impossibility. And in the late action of the border States of Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland we see strong ground for hoping that this may be done. But it will not be done without the most violent opposition in Congress and in the country. Such a revolution as that which shall depose slavery from the throne of this nation strikes at too many interests and prejudices to prevail without a bitter struggle. Kings and Kaisers may be overthrown with a less radical convulsion of ideas and customs. The ramifications of its power and influence reach the remotest villages, as well as strike deep root in the great marts of trade. Its partisans know just what they want, they are thoroughly united in purpose and perfectly drilled in discipline. Even where they are a numerical minority, their audacity and ferocity give them a weight entirely independent of their numbers. And among the supporters of the nation, there is a numerous class who hang but lightly upon the party to which they have late in life allied themselves, and who would shake themselves easily loose from it to fall back to their old affinities upon a very moderate provocation. We think that our greatest danger now lies in an overweening confidence that our work is already done. In a sense it is true that slavery is doomed in this country, as it is true that despotism is doomed on the continent of Europe. But the one and the other may have a new lease of lingering life given to it by the crime or the folly of public and private men. How fair seemed the prospects of the Peoples in 1848, when Louis Phillippe had sneaked out of the back door of the Tuileries as Mr. Smith, when the King of Prussia crowned himself with his emptied punch-bowl as all the diadem he had left, when the imperial "round and top" of Austrian sovereignty was going begging and at last thrust on the brows of a boy of seventeen, and the Pope had to disguise himself, first as a reformer and afterwards as a footman! And yet the reaction came, and with it Bonaparte, and Von Bismarck and Antonelli. Despotism was nowhere intertwined with the habits, the prejudices and the immediate interests more closely and inveterately than was slavery with those of the American people. But we admit that there is a difference in the *receptivity* of new ideas in the nature of our people and in that of the dwellers in the elder world. In this is our hope, and in the lessons of the bitter teachings of the war that there can be no permanent Union or enduring prosperity while slavery is permitted to exist. But we have no belief that this education is yet complete. Slavery would not be allowed to stand in the way of a settlement on the basis of a return of the revolted States to their allegiance. At this moment the war could not be continued for the purpose of putting an end to slavery, after the territorial unity of the nation could be had. Perhaps a few months more may bring the nation up to this point. Better yet, if the possibility of the alternative be anticipated and prevented by wise and decided action.

The power to command the waves of domestic faction to be stilled and those of open rebellion to roll backward, is greatly in the hands of the imminent Congress. The power because of the opportunity. The rebellion is at its fullest height of malignity, if not of power. There is small danger of insidious propositions coming from the enemy this Winter. The war is in its bloodiest phase. A new demand for troops is depleting at once the labor and the capital of the nation. If ever a time could be imagined when the National Legislature could put forth all the powers with which every government is of necessity invested necessary for the preservation of its existence, that time is the present. The President has done his duty as the Commander-in-Chief and freed all the slaves in the country actually in rebellion. We think he might have done more and included the whole slave country in his exercise of the war-powers of the Constitution. But we have no right to doubt his honesty in what he withheld any more than his intrepidity and wisdom in going as far as he did. But what he omitted to do, it is in the competency of Congress to complete. It has its reserved war-powers, its rights of self-defence and the defence of its constituency, as well as the President. Slavery is the Arch-rebel, and it is as truly arrayed against the nation when lurking in the Border States under the disguise of a simulated loyalty as where it is openly and boldly in arms. Wherever there is a slaveholder, *who wishes to keep his slaves*, there is a secret well-wisher of Jefferson Davis, wishing only an opportunity to break forth into an open one. It is the most insensate of all imaginable follies to keep such an enemy in our borders to watch its opportunity to damage, if not to destroy us. Congress can destroy this secret enemy and its open one at once by a plain and decided exercise of the powers with which the emergency invests it. Let it abolish slavery, everywhere [illegible] solemn enactment, in the loyal as well as the revolted States, with every liberal allowance of compensation to all masters not flagrantly traitorous and [illegible] heaviest blow that human hands can give will [illegible] been dealt to the rebellion. It would make compromise impossible. It would take all of the mo[illegible] of our enemies abroad the epigrammatic taunt, "[illegible] we had abolished slavery where we could not r[illegible] it, and protected it where we could." It would e[illegible]tually extinguish all thoughts of recognition on [illegible] part of foreign Powers. The rebels themselves could have no hope of securing an admission to the family of nations, excepting through the gate of emancipation. Slavery would be not only scotched, as it is now, but killed, never to revive again. And with it would die the only obstacle to a perfect and perpetual union.

And we think the prospect of so blessed a consummation is by no means unfavorable. The government have only a small absolute majority in the House; but it will be therefore the more watchful, compact and manageable. If the President favors such a complement of his own beginnings (and can we doubt it?), he can command it. And the position of the Border State men in Congress is favorable to such action. They are made up of unconditional Emancipationists, and slave-owners who wish to make the best bargain they can for their order. And both parties must see that now is their accepted time. Emancipation, on the one hand, and liberal compensation on the other, may be had now. But who can tell what changes the chances of war and politics may make in these directions, if the golden moment be not seized? Should the Border State members unite, from whatever motive, in this movement, as we are confident they will, it would decide the question at once, and make it a file between the teeth of the Northern Copperheads, which they may break their fangs upon, and slaver with their venom, but which it would be beyond their power to break. We trust that the members of Congress will do their duty in these premises, and we believe they will. But their constituents should remember that they have a duty to do as well. A public man needs to feel that he has his public behind him. Let our Senators and Representatives have this assurance. By all proper personal influence and by the weight of frequent and numerously-signed petitions, let the wishes of the people be made known to them. If emphatic and unmistakable, they will be obeyed.

We are happy to learn that the lecturing movement set on foot by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society has been eminently successful in its operations. The lecturers are welcomed everywhere, and by none more warmly than by the most earnest and intelligent Republicans. These assist in arranging their meetings, promote attendance upon them, and promise pecuniary aid towards continuing them. They have the discernment to see that there is no better seed for votes than the words of truth which the Old School Abolitionists scatter abroad. These efforts cannot fail to be felt, directly and indirectly, in urging Congress to do the great duty which its hands now find to do.

THINGS WORKING IN TENNESSEE.

THE following correspondence shows that the Military Governor of Tennessee has no idea of making himself an agent of the slaveholders for the return of their lost chattels.

QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE, NASHVILLE,
Tenn., Nov. 13, 1863.

To His Excellency, ANDREW JOHNSON, *Military Governor of Tennessee.*

GOVERNOR: The bearer (colored), Jane Woodall, is my house-servant. She is a slave, claimed by Christopher Woodall, a resident of Tennessee.

It is said that he is disloyal, and on a previous occasion the military authorities prevented him from taking her.

Has Mr. Woodall any right, under the President's proclamation and military law, to take this woman?

It strikes me not, as we have taken possession of rebel property without compensation.

Requesting your decision in the premises, I am, Governor, very respectfully your obedient servant,

JOHN C. CRANE,
Captain and Acting Quartermaster.

THE GOVERNOR'S RESPONSE.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, NASHVILLE,
TENN., Nov. 13, 1863.

Respectfully returned. If the girl referred to within is *willing* to return with Mr. Woodall, she should be allowed to go; but, if not willing, she will not be compelled to go with him.

ANDREW JOHNSON, Military Governor.

PRO-SLAVERY PROSCRIPTION.—One member of the Missouri Delegation, sent to Washington some time ago to labor with the President for the removal of Gen. Schofield and the adoption of a radical policy on the Kansas border, incurred thereby the hostility of Attorney-General Bates, who sent him the following letter:

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, Nov. 2, 1863.

W. W. EDWARDS, *Esq., St. Charles, Mo.*

SIR: Your recent active participation in political enterprises hostile to the known views and wishes of the Executive government of both the nation and State has rendered it unfit, in my opinion, for you to continue to hold the office of United States District-Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri. Such being my opinion, the President, at my request, has caused your office to be vacated, and another person to be appointed in your stead.

Yours,
EDWARD BATES, Attorney-General.

If Mr. Bates had waited to hear the result of the election in Missouri, perhaps the above letter would not have been written. As it is, he may live to regret this act of proscription.

RECALL OF THE REBEL STATES.—We are glad to be able to say that the statements in the following dispatch to *The Tribune* accord substantially with information received by us through private channels:

WASHINGTON, Friday, Nov. 20, 1863.

The attention of the President, of the more prominent members of the Cabinet, and of other gentlemen, whose counsels are valued, has been largely given of late to the consideration of the important questions connected with the recall to the Union of the truant Southern States, several of which may soon be knocking at the door. The precise course to be adopted is not yet determined. Several theories claim the President's ear, but he is himself engaged in maturing a practical plan by which to secure reunion upon the only practicable basis, the basis of freedom and equality before the law for all. Recent utterances of the President, and instructions approved by him, to recently commissioned representatives of the government in districts of the South now in our possession, leave no doubt that the policy of this Administration is to permit none of the vagrant States to come back with a slave Constitution is fixed. The present discussion relates to the ways and means of effecting this result.

PERSONAL.

John Ross, Chief of the Cherokee Nation, and a delegation of the tribe are in Washington, to confer with the government upon the business affairs of the nation.

Gen. Richard Busteed of New York has been appointed U. S. District Judge for Alabama, vice Judge G. W. Lane, deceased. He has accepted the appointment.

E. P. Whipple's lecture on Joan of Arc, delivered before the Women's Loyal National League, at the Cooper Institute, on Monday evening last, afforded the highest gratification to all who heard it. The remaining lectures of the course are postponed till January.

William Lloyd Garrison will, we understand, deliver a lecture on the State of the Country, in Concert Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, on Wednesday evening next. Many delegates, from different parts of the country, to the Decade meeting will no doubt be careful to arrive in season to hear this lecture.

Gen. Butler was asked to deliver a lecture in this city before the Women's Loyal League. His Secretary, some time afterwards wrote: "Gen. Butler has delayed answering your courteous note, in the hope that he might be able so to arrange his affairs as to meet your wishes. Having been ordered on duty, the public service must take precedence."

It pains us to learn that the Rev. N. A. Staples, Pastor of the Second Unitarian Church in Brooklyn, is suffering from impaired health, insomuch that his congregation has been constrained to vote him leave of absence for three months. He is a true-hearted man and a [illegible] preacher, and we hope that he will soon be [illegible]turn to his post.

[illegible]ate letter from Rochester says: "Frederick [illegible]s lecture on The Mission of the War, deliv[illegible]e 17th inst, was a grand success. Corinthian [illegible]rowded, and hundreds were unable to gain [illegible]. Mr. Douglass will probably deliver the [illegible]ture in this city, in January next, before the Loyal National League."

[illegible]ry Ward Beecher addressed an immense audience in the Academy of Music in this city on Tuesday evening last. His subject was "The Antagonism between American (Republican) and European (Monarchical) Ideas," and he showed that this antagonism is the ground of the hostility to the American cause so extensively fostered by European governments. The proceeds of Mr. Beecher's lecture, amounting to $4,000, were appropriated to the Sanitary Commission.

Senator Wade, the "old war horse" of Ohio, declines lecturing in this city before the Women's Loyal League, on the ground that he has "no talent in that line," but he adds: "As a member of Congress you shall have my best endeavors for your success; for a cause more honorable to human nature, or that promised more benefit to the world, never challenged the investigation or called forth the efforts of the patriot or the philanthropist."

The Boston *Traveller* makes a suggestion as follows: "As Mr. Beecher has done so good a work in England, why not send Mr. Phillips thither to complete the business? He is the first of American orators, and he could lay down the anti-slavery law vastly to the satisfaction of our English friends." That Mr. Phillips might do a great work for the American cause in England there is no room for doubt, but we think he is more needed here than there at present.

The Liberator of last week says: "Among the passengers in the Asia, which arrived at this port on Saturday evening, was John P. Jewett, Esq., who has been abroad for nearly a year past, and during that time has done efficient service in the cause of our common country, and helped to baffle the machinations of the rebel emissaries in England. He brings us a letter from our honored and ever faithful coadjutor, George Thompson, Esq., in which Mr. Thompson states that he hopes to be in America by the 1st of January, partly on business, and partly to see his American friends at this cheering stage of the Anti-Slavery cause. His presence will be warmly greeted. No one has done as much as himself to keep England on the right side in the struggle of our government to put down the rebellion."

The Syracuse *Journal* of the 20th says: "The lecture of Mrs. Frances D. Gage, at the Unitarian Church last evening, on the Character, Condition and Claims of the Freed People of the South, was all that the friends of the cause she advocates could have wished it to be. The house was filled, and the audience listened with unabated attention to Mrs. Gage for an hour and a half. She exhibited without concealment, yet without exaggeration, the damages which slavery has done to the whole population of the South, and told us of some of the successes that have already blessed the efforts of the government and of the Freedmen's Relief Association to repair those damages. Of course, only a beginning of the great work has been made; and it will put in requisition all the enterprise and benevolence of the lovers of our country to accomplish it. But it must be done, at whatever cost. And we are gratified for the encouragement which Mrs. Gage gave us to increased exertion. She is a very fluent, graceful and impressive speaker."

The Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* says: "Garibaldi receives daily numerous letters, especially from the Kingdom of Naples, which wring his heart and make him fret like a lion in his cage. These letters, written by the people he delivered from the yoke of King Bomba's son, contain long and heart-rending details of their sufferings from the brigands of Francis Joseph, and complaints at the prolongation of the occupation of Rome and consequently of the unsettled condition of the country. They all terminate by begging of him to come again to their relief. To a man of Garibaldi's kindness of heart these appeals are not likely to go long unanswered. He believes and says that in a march on Rome he can this time gather up an army of 150,000 men. He attributes all the misfortunes of Italy to the French occupation of Rome and to the nest of conspirators the French flag there protects. His two horrors are Napoleon and the Pope. He will probably commence operations again in the Spring, whether Rome be occupied by French or Spanish troops, and especially if the grand struggle in the north of Europe is going on."

CHALLENGE TO THE REBEL AGENTS IN ENGLAND.—We copy the following letter from the London *Dial.*

SIR: An influential gentleman has just written me, referring to an article in *The Morning Star* of this day. He suggests that a challenge be presented to Mr. Mason and Col. Lamar, or to any other Southern advocate of slavery, to follow up the late Exeter Hall meeting with one on their side. He proposes that we should offer them a free stage at the hall for this purpose. I shall be glad to learn from Mr. Mason, who is lingering in our country, and from Col. Lamar, or either of them, if they are willing to meet in fair discussion on a London platform and before a London audience an anti-slavery opponent and champion of the constitutional government of the North as opposed to slavery and rebellion. The advocates of the North and of freedom have obtained the victory a thousand times since the war commenced in public meetings all over the country. We are now prepared for discussion. The American question cannot remain in its present position. Is Mr. Mason, or some Southern champion as his nominee, prepared to accept a challenge? I shall be glad to hear from him on this question. I will use my best endeavors to arrange for the conflict so as to save him or his friends harmless from any expense, and to find an antagonist for him or any Southern advocate worthy of our weapons and of their best steel. We will have no packed meeting. Tickets shall be obtained at a hundred different places in the metropolis. We will suffer no rowdies of any description, no Liverpool savagery, but such a fair conflict as a free Englishman loves. I await Mr. Mason's reply. I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

FRED. TOMPKINS, M. A., D. C. L.,
Hon. Sec. of the London Committee of Correspondence on American Affairs.
Temple, Oct. 24.

We have not heard that the rebel agents made any response to this challenge. Free discussion is not the means on which they rely for the furtherance of their cause. Indeed it is precisely this, more than anything else, that they dread, and studiously avoid as fatal to their schemes.

DELAWARE.—The election in this State for a member of Congress, which took place on the 19th inst. resulted in the choice of Mr. N. B. Smithers, the Emancipation candidate, by an almost unanimous vote. The order of Gen. Schenck, requiring voters, on being challenged for disloyalty, to take an oath of allegiance, so discouraged the Copperheads that they concluded to make a merit of staying away from the polls, and they generally did so.

A SUGGESTION.

OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq.—*My Dear Sir:* With very great pleasure do I notice in THE STANDARD an announcement of the purpose of the American Anti-Slavery Society to hold a meeting in Philadelphia next month, for celebrating the third decade of the Society's existence. Nothing but physical inability shall prevent my being there to enjoy the privilege of seeing and hearing the men who originated the great movement which is now culminating in the emancipation of the slaves. Who would have believed, thirty years ago, that Garrison, the Moses of this Exodus, with so many of the Aarons and Hurs who held up his hands, should live to see the triumph of his principles? Surely, while Paul has planted and Apollos watered, *it is God who giveth the increase!*

The single-hearted devotion to the cause of our oppressed brethren, which always characterized the Abolitionists, has not been without manifest blessing to themselves. While breaking the manacles of the slave, they have attained their own liberation from all bondage, intellectual and spiritual—thus fulfilling the words of promise that "he who watereth shall himself be watered." Probably there is not on earth a body of people, embracing men and women of so much refinement and intelligence, who at this moment are so entirely *free*, as you Garrisonian Abolitionists. I say *you*, for while my abolitionism dates back to 1831, I have not acted with your Society in the matter of voting, and have been therefore outside of your organization. The suspicion of heresy, which still enslaves many worthy men in Church organizations, you scout, and treat as the idle wind which you respect not. You allow no society of men, either political or ecclesiastical, Protestant or Popish, to hamper your conscience and stand between you and your God. You enjoy the full measure of Christian liberty which Paul enjoined upon his brethren when he said, "*Let no man judge you* in meat and drink," etc.

Now, the object of this communication is to suggest, whether, instead of disbanding as a Society and going into a state of disintegration, you ought not to continue your existence, locate branch-societies in every neighborhood, and hold monthly meetings, for mutual improvement, and for the attainment of that Christian perfection which all sincere men long for. American slavery is dead, but the funeral has not taken place; and you ought to be on hand, with picks and spades to make its grave so deep that a resurrection will be quite impossible. For the craven priesthood of the North, headed by Bishop Hopkins, and tailed by Dr. Lord, are already attempting to galvanize the carcase into the simulation of life. No, you must not disband. I say it, not in the way of fulsome praise, which I scorn and you disdain, but as a tribute to the grace of God, that during the whole thirty years in which you have collected and disbursed vast sums of money, no blot has come upon your Society by the malfeasance of any of your officers and co-workers. The apostacy of one of your original number has allowed the world to see that you are men and not angels, and that there has been no pot of apothecary's ointment compounded, thus far in history, in which some dead fly has not sent forth a stinking savor. The defection alluded to was due, not to the nature of your influence, but to the leprous effect of a pro-slavery Church which poisons all it touches. While many so-called *religious* organizations and benevolent associations have developed scoundrelism in their management which has sent some of the guilty into disgrace, and ought to have sent many more after them, your Society, as an almoner, has been above suspicion. While whole Churches have gone into open apostacy by taking sides with the oppressor, and justifying the system which violates every precept of the decalogue, you, who have never called yourselves "the Church," have remained faithful to God and his Christ, and the interests of Christian morality. Thus you furnish to the men of candor and of thought the best type of a Christian Church which the world now sees—a Church without a dominating priesthood and a procrustean creed, but whose members are all free from the restraints and traditions of men, and are kings and priests unto God. If you had your monthly meetings scattered throughout the country, where it was known that honest, earnest and intelligent men met for counsel and coöperation, they would furnish a home for those who, disgusted with the hypocrisy and treason of so many of the ecclesiastical organizations, are now in the condition of Noah's dove, which found no rest for the sole of her foot. Would it not be well to make this a topic of discussion at Philadelphia? Bring on Theodore Weld, and Theodore Tilton, and Gerrit Smith, and the other Good Samaritans of the day, who rejoice in the freedom wherewith Christ has made them free, and instead of two days, spend a whole week in council. What a blessing to those of us who will form the audience, to hear the illustrious men of your Society speak on the signs of the times, and give their opinions as to what Christianity and our country now require at our hands. Most appropriately was it at *Philadelphia* where your Society of brotherly love was organized to break the bonds of the slave. Most appropriately will it be the place for assembling all the liberators together to devise means for liberating the consciences and intellects of men everywhere.

Sincerely your friend and fellow laborer, R. S. D.

[It is due to our readers that they should know that "R. S. D." is a clergyman of unimpeachable orthodoxy.—Editor.]

THE SIGNERS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS.

THE Convention which formed the American Anti-Slavery Society assembled in Philadelphia, Dec. 4th, 1833, and continued in session three days. A memorable DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS was unanimously adopted by the Convention, engrossed upon parchment, and signed by the members in the following order:

Maine.
David Thurston,
Nathan Winslow,*
Joseph Southwick,
James F. Otis,†
Isaac Winslow.
New Hampshire.
David Cambell.*
Vermont.
Orson S. Murray.
Massachusetts.
David S. Southmayd,*
Effingham L. Capron,*
Joshua Coffin,
Amos A. Phelps,*
John G. Whittier,
Horace P. Wakefield,
James G. Barbadoes,*
David T. Kimball, Jr.,*
David E. Jewett,
John Reid Cambell,
Nathaniel Southard,*
Arnold Buffum,*
William Lloyd Garrison.
Rhode Island.
John Prentice,
George W. Benson,
Ray Potter.*
Connecticut.
Samuel Joseph May,
Alpheus Kingsley,
Edwin A. Stillman,
Simeon S. Jocelyn,
Robert Bernard Hall,
New York.
Beriah Green,
Lewis Tappan,
John Rankin,
William Green, Jr.,
Abraham L. Cox,
William Goodell,
Elizur Wright, Jr.,
Charles W. Denison,‡
George Bourne,*
John Frost.*
New Jersey.
Jonathan Parkhurst,*
Chalkley Gillingham,
James White.*
Pennsylvania.
Evan Lewis,*
Edwin A. Atlee,*
Robert Purvis,
James McCrummell,
Thomas Shipley,
Bartholomew Fussell,
Enoch Mack,
John McCollough,
James M. McKim,
Aaron Vickers,
James Loughhead,
John R. Sleeper,
Thomas Whitson,
Edwin P. Atlee,
John Sharp, Jr.,
David Jones,
Lucas Gillingham,
James Mott,
Sumner Stebbins.
Ohio.
John M. Sterling,
Milton Sutliff,
Levi Sutliff.

The names of those who have since deceased are marked with an asterisk, as far as we know; but it is probable that the list is incomplete, and we shall be obliged to any one who can make it entirely accurate. Indeed, it is very desirable that the place of birth, and the age of each at the time of signing the Declaration, of those whose names are appended to this historic instrument, should be furnished—in season, if possible, for the approaching celebration.

†Mr. Otis openly repudiated his signature in 1835.

‡Mr. Denison apostatized from the cause about 1850, becoming a supporter of Webster and the Fugitive Slave law, and subsequently voting for Frank Pierce, from whom he received office as a reward for his treachery.

PHOTOGRAPHS—large size—of the following persons for sale at this office, price 75 cents:

THEODORE D. WELD
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
OLIVER JOHNSON,
THEODORE TILTON.

The likenesses are pronounced excellent—that of Mr. Weld especially.

WOMEN'S PETITION FOR EMANCIPATION.

WE give below the form of petition adopted by the Women's National Loyal League. If any of our readers are not otherwise supplied, they can copy this on a sheet of paper and commence at once the work of obtaining signatures.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the U[illegible] States:

(Men)

The Undersigned, Women of the United [illegible] the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray [illegible] Honorable Body will pass, at the earliest [illegible] day, an Act emancipating all Persons of [illegible] scent held to involuntary service or labor in [illegible] States.

Name. *Residence.*

When the sheet is filled, add others of the same size to the foot of it, with paste or mucilage. The [illegible] should be by the persons themselves, or [illegible] their request. Add, at close of each [illegible] her of signatures contained, and name of Town and State whence it comes. Return to [illegible] tional Loyal League, 20 Cooper Institute, [illegible]

N.B.—As this petition will not be presented [illegible] next December 12, all who will then be eighteen [illegible] old have a right to sign it.

ENTHUSIASM IN THE WEST.—The Methodist [illegible] and editors of Chicago are recommending the Emancipation petitions to the special attention of [illegible] ination. Each minister of the city is [illegible] to preach a sermon on the duty of Congress [illegible] act of immediate emancipation, and to circulate the petition in his congregation. *The Northwestern* [illegible] *Advocate* and the Chicago *Christian Times* have published the petition and called on the ministers throughout the West to aid the work. One appeal closes: "Brethren, Pastors of the Churches: Help these women"—the women of the Loyal National League—the Pulpit and religious Press do so everywhere.

Mary Grew, of Philadelphia, writing to S. B. A., says: "I regard this work of moving Congress, by petition or otherwise, as the last great act of our anti-slavery enterprise—the decree of universal emancipation [illegible] work of the hour for Abolitionists. And I rejoice that the Women's Loyal League has set itself to the task that our American A. S. Society is about to send more agents into the field to make a mighty, and as I trust, a last effort for this end. I shall be very busy until after our Decade meeting, but though then, I look for no leisure, I must make anything I can do in this department of our cause my chief work. Verily, the end is nigh; the victory at hand. I scarcely believe it, cannot realize it."

THE BLAIR INTRIGUE.

THE result of the elections in Missouri and Maryland has brought the Blair family to grief. [illegible] they had formed a scheme to control the Administration in their own personal interest and in the name of "Conservatism," there is too much reason to believe. The defeat of the Radicals in the States above [illegible] having been a condition indispensable to the success of the plot, they are now completely unhorsed, and must take their choice between going over to the [illegible] perheads and behaving themselves decently hereafter. The following extracts from the correspondence of the Cincinnati *Gazette* embody, we believe, the essential truth:

"Whether justly or not, General Blair was strongly suspected of a desire to dictate terms to the Administration party of the House—to say, 'Here I, gentlemen, standing on a Conservative platform, opposing the Radicals of Missouri, indorsing my brother's attack on the Radicals of Maryland, opposed to immediate emancipation and in favor of the reconstruction of the Union as it was (which means with all slavery restored to all its ancient privileges); commit yourselves and the party of the government to my platform by electing me Speaker; or I throw myself into the position, am elected Speaker in spite of you, and organize the House in the interest of those who follow me.' Such journals as the New York *Herald* openly avowed the scheme, championed the General, and claimed him the master of the situation. Numerous circumstances confirmed the suspicion that he had been consulted with reference to the plan and had given it at least a qualified assent.

"Under these circumstances Mr. Montgomery Blair came to ask, in behalf of his brother, what the President preferred to have him do—take his seat in Congress or remain in the field. Mr. Lincoln shrewdly perceived this as putting the whole matter for his decision, and so took a little time to consider. The result of his consideration was a message to the Postmaster-General, and subsequently a letter direct to the General, saying in substance this: There are all sorts of stories in circulation about your intentions. Of course I believe none of them. Gen. Sherman's representations and those of others convince me that you have shown such military abilities that, till the war is ended, your place is in the army. But we want you for the organization. Come here, then; go into the Administration caucus and abide its results. If you are nominated Speaker, you will be elected. If not, take your old place in the army again. But of course you will do justice to yourself, and you can do away with a multitude of embarrassments that are distracting the supporters of the Administration and weakening my hands!

"Manifestly, after that, there were but two things to do—follow Mr. Lincoln's disposition of the case, or fight the Administration openly, drive the Postmaster-General out of the Cabinet, and gravitate irrevocably into the Peace Democrat party!

"Gen. Blair, as reported, has decided not to come here at all, this is the reason of it. . . . And so I suppose the speculations about Gen. Frank Blair's candidacy may be finally ended. Whether there was ever anything more in it than the talk of interested outsiders will probably remain in doubt. It is said—and the story is told with great particularity of date and place and persons—that a recent meeting of leading Democrats was held in Philadelphia, to consult with reference to the course of the party in the Speakership contest, and that this meeting was attended by a representative of Gen. Blair's. According to the story, this representative claimed that the Border State vote would be united on Blair, and that he could also secure [illegible] the Administration ranks nine votes. The Democrats, it is said, called for the evidence that the nine Administration men could be carried; and when they came to be named, were only satisfied concerning three of them. This was not enough, and so, the story goes, the negotiations awaited further developments.

"While on Blair business, let me dispose of another point. Mr. Montgomery Blair's Rockville speech has recently been printed in pamphlet form, under the author's auspices and with his corrections. It is preceded by a paragraph saying that the substance of the speech was delivered in defense of the policy of the President of the United States, and in opposition to the efforts of the ultra Abolitionists.' The same idea is set up more broadly by the Peace Democratic journals, which so eagerly welcomed the speech. One of them—a leading Eastern paper—in commenting on recent statements of mine concerning Mr. Blair, goes so far as to say that this speech was 'made at the instigation of Mr. Lincoln himself.'

"Mr. Blair's insinuation and the more direct assertion of his new found admirers are equally untrue. Mr. Lincoln knew nothing whatever of the speech [illegible] nature till long after its delivery, and to this day [illegible] period at any rate only ten days back—he had not read it. So much for Blair's assumption that he [illegible] for the President, or that the President could be switched off upon his slavery-preserving side-track."

LETTER FROM AARON M. P[illegible]

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard:

THE series of meetings advertised in THE [illegible] for Wendell P. Garrison and myself, in [illegible] County, N. Y., we have attended, with [illegible] satisfactory results. In addition to [illegible] tioned in my last, we have since had a very good [illegible] ing in Galesville, at Beadle's Hill, Pittstown and Granville. The hall in which we were to have [illegible] at Saratoga Springs being preoccupied [illegible] ment, with other calls which we [illegible] meetings in that region, we have deferred [illegible] date.

The present seems to be a very auspicious [illegible] holding meetings such as ours are [illegible] and the need of them is very great. The pressure of the claims of the Emancipation petition [illegible] fact that many persons who are willing [illegible] yet not ready to commit themselves [illegible] nature of their names positively and directly [illegible] the slave system. They are children, reared in the school of compromise, remaining [illegible] These people would be the easy victims of [illegible] at the end of the present war. [illegible] to be shown, as fully as is possible [illegible] ties and corresponding responsibilities [illegible] period.

I agree most heartily with the sentiment expressed by Wendell Phillips: 'I would have Congress initiate measures for an amendment of the Constitution to this effect: Slavery shall henceforth have no place in any State within this Union. When this is done [illegible] the States come back as soon as they please.' [illegible] Fraternity Lecture.) To avert the war in the beginning of the present Administration it was proposed to amend the Constitution in the interest of [illegible]

Surely after the sacrifice of three hundred thousand lives, and many millions of treasure, it ought to seem a very reasonable and just demand that the Constitution be now amended as explicitly in the interest of liberty as in the beginning it was proposed that it should be in behalf of slavery. The next Congress should give us a *General Emancipation Act*, and the *initiatory measures for an amendment of the Constitution*. It will do as much if the people call for it in earnest.

I wish to express grateful acknowledgments to our friends among your readers whose hospitality and kind coöperation we enjoyed during the recent series of meetings in Washington County. We are especially indebted to JOSEPH W. PECKHAM and family, of Easton.

AARON M. POWELL.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22, 1863.

MR. SEWARD's speech at Gettysburg is regarded by many persons here as giving evidence of a disposition to correct his previous utterances at Auburn, or possibly it was meant to convince the anti-slavery people of the country that the inferences they drew from the Auburn speech were wrong. This certainly is a very wholesome sentence: "I thank my God that I believe this strife is going to end in the removal of that evil which ought to have been removed by peaceful means and by deliberate counsels." Of course, if Mr. Seward thanks God for such a result, he will not interpose any act of his own to prevent it. After reading this speech at Gettysburg I come to the conclusion that Mr. Seward is a very singular man, and that it is very difficult to find out just what his real opinions are upon the slavery question. He has very warm personal friends in this city, who are anti-slavery in their sentiments, and they assert roundly that Mr. Seward is as warmly opposed to the institution of slavery as he ever was, even at the time when he delivered the famous Washington speech. Then, on the other hand, there are pro-slavery people here who feel so confident of their great friend the Secretary of State that they assert their entire willingness to leave the settlement of the slavery question with him. They are satisfied that he is "Conservative" in his views. There can be not a particle of doubt that somebody is cheated by Mr. Seward. Is it the Radicals or the Conservatives? It would not surprise me in the least if it were the Conservatives. Mr. Seward is a diplomatist at all times. Even the Rochester speech came from the lips of a shrewd political diplomatist, and not from an earnest man's heart. He never speaks on any question, as Mr. Sumner does, following his principles wherever they lead, but he "calculates" how much truth it is prudent to utter, and how much chaff is needed.

Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward are on the most intimate terms of friendship, and *they understand each other*. Now, if Mr. Lincoln is heartily and honestly an Emancipationist, *so is Mr. Seward*. The two men are acting together, though it is quite possible that they may not agree in their published views at any given moment. Mr. Seward is in favor of the nomination of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency as his own successor, and he will stand by the Emancipation proclamation if Mr. Lincoln does. There can be no question on this point so far as Mr. Lincoln is concerned, for he has pledged himself very strongly on the subject. But if the President, in all the rebel States, is going to pursue his Missouri policy, he will build up a pro-slavery sentiment, or rather support the pro-slavery sentiment that is existing in those States, and make it so strong that emancipation will be impossible, and when the war ends he can plead inability to enforce the proclamation. This *may* be—is the great danger in the future, but I don't think it *possible* that so fair and honest a man as Mr. Lincoln is will ever consent to the continuance of slavery in those States where he has declared it to be overthrown. The Gettysburg speech from Mr. Seward is encouraging not only in reference to himself, but also in reference to the President.

Postmaster-General Blair has kept very quiet since the Maryland election. I think he was a good deal shocked by that event, and he will have to consider it for some time before he comes out with another speech. And then, too, "brother Frank" has slipped up on his Senatorial scheme in Missouri. With all his faults "Frank" is the flower of the family. He is blunt, coarse, sometimes brutal, but he is warm-hearted, generous, and is not mean or underhanded in his ways. *Personally* I must confess that I have always liked Gen. Blair. It is not so with Montgomery, the Postmaster. He is not generous in his views, but is narrow and conceited, but makes up in energy what he lacks in brains. One of the Blair family, some time ago, made the remark, "When *we* fight it is for a funeral," and it will be found to be so in this case. It does not take a vast amount of shrewdness to single out the victims, in this "fight," who will be entitled to funeral honors.

The N. Y. *Herald*, in its Washington correspondence, denies the truth of an account of an interview between Mr. Forney and the President in reference to Mr. Blair's Rockville speech, which was first sent to the Cincinnati *Gazette* and afterwards republished in many other journals. I have reason to believe that Mr. Blair prompted the denial, and yet am assured that the original statement is correct. When Mr. Blair *openly* denies the allegation, it will be time enough to demand the proof; certainly no one will take the denial of *The Herald* as of any particular importance.

The public doubtless is looking with considerable anxiety for the message of the President to Congress. There is a strong desire that the President should explain himself fully and frankly on many of the controverted questions of the hour in this speech, but I do not believe he will do so. It is unlike him. If he is not timid, he is cautious, and he means to stand before the people as a sort of compromise candidate between the Radicals and the Conservatives of his own party. But is not Mr. Lincoln overlooking one very important fact—that in revolutionary times the Radicals almost always triumph? I think he is. Why, here is *The National Republican*, a staunch friend of the President, not a *Radical* newspaper by any means, or at least not audaciously so, which in its prospectus for 1864 talks in this manner:

> "Politically *The Republican* will support as earnestly as possible the civil and military policy of the present Administration, while that policy is for FREEDOM in its broadest and highest sense, and *against slavery*. *When the present, or any other Administration, pursues a different course on the question of human slavery, we shall oppose it with our might and main. God helping us*, PATRONAGE OR NO PATRONAGE."

This is what a cautious sheet says to this Administration, and it is a sign of the times. Mr. Lincoln may, like other men, make a great mistake in measuring the anti-slavery strength of the country, and if he does, another person, whose name I will not write, will reap the benefit of his blunder. It is a little singular that when Mr. Lincoln goes off anywhere, it is the Conservative members of his Cabinet who accompany him. This time Messrs. Blair, Seward and Usher were his companions. Messrs. Chase, Stanton and Welles remained at their posts. One rarely meets Mr. Seward with Mr. Chase, except at their respective offices. The President and Mr. Stanton may be a little more intimate, but the Secretary of War is Radical in his notions. He can't well help it, for he is a wide-awake personage. I have written many things against Mr. Stanton, for I dislike his rough treatment of men who deserve courtesy at his hands. I dislike anything that smacks of tyranny, but Mr. Stanton, I am compelled to say, stands up like a rock for his principles. He sees clearly enough how this war should end—how it will end. Slavery will be rooted up, and therefore he would shape his policy *now* to that end.

We have two clergymen in Washington, at the present time, who are faithful to anti-slavery principles. Perhaps there are others (and I presume there are), but I can say of my own knowledge that the Rev. Mr. Channing of the Unitarian Church, and the Rev. Dr. Sunderland of the New School Presbyterian Church, are thorough in their presentation of anti-slavery truths from the pulpit. Dr. Channing returns from Europe greatly encouraged. He preaches to full houses. I am glad to write that the places left vacant in Dr. Sunderland's church by pro-slavery members are rapidly filling up with anti-slavery men. One Northern gentleman took a pew not long since, and paid $750 for it for the next year, for the sole purpose of aiding the Church. It is now beyond danger, and this Winter it will be crowded.

There is little to be said respecting the military situation this morning. I find that Burnside is in an unpleasant position—to speak quietly. He is a noble man, but not a brilliant general. He may hold his own, however, and the officials at the War Department represent that his strength is such as to enable him to repel any assaults that may be made upon him. But I will not speculate upon results which will soon be known.

Gen. Meade is moving, and we have a right to expect great news from him erelong. We may be disappointed, however, as Meade is a very timid, cautious and hesitating general. He is not another McClellan, for he is loyal to the core, and he has shown that he can, if he will, pursue an enemy with rapidity and courage. McClellan *never* did. Meade is as good a man as Mr. Lincoln can command. It is claimed that Sedgwick is a better, but it did not appear at Fredericksburg, nor on the banks of the upper Potomac, when he counselled Meade not to attack the retreating Lee.

AVON.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, November 23d, 1863.

THE Legislature of Massachusetts, after an extra session of seven or eight days, adjourned on Wednesday, the 18th inst. The principal business transacted was the arrangement of bounties and payment to volunteers under the President's last call. Each volunteer has the option of receiving $325 in hand, or else $50 in hand and $20 monthly pay, these being additional to the bounty and pay offered by the United States. The monthly allowance is to be continued for six months in case of the soldier's honorable discharge for disability, or paid to his widow or heirs for the same period in case of his death.

The bill providing for payment to the 54th and 55th regiments, of the amounts withheld from them under an unjust decision of the War Department, became a law; and the following resolution, on the same subject, was passed.

> Resolved, That the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth regiments of Massachusetts volunteers are soldiers in fact, and in the duty they owe to the government; they constitute part of the quota of this Commonwealth; many of them are citizens of Massachusetts; they bear the uniform and equipments of the United States; they illustrate the virtues and they are entitled to the rewards of national troops. The refusal to these regiments of the usual pay and allowances of soldiers has put upon them a wrong which they keenly feel, it touches the honor of their superior officers, discourages enlistments under the policy which called them into the field, and is detrimental to the service. While Massachusetts has undertaken to repair this injustice to a portion of her military contingent, she does so declaring that this duty belongs to the National government and should be immediately assumed.

Thus Massachusetts performs her duty to the colored soldiers who have gone to fight her battles. It is greatly to be wished that the President would do *his* duty to the vastly larger number of colored people whose destiny, yes, whose life or death, are now waiting upon his will. In some few instances, as in the movement now carried on by Major Stearns in Tennessee, judicious aid is given to all classes of these people. Not only are their able-bodied men incorporated with the army, and assured us far as may be of just and kind treatment while they act in that capacity, but the infirm and aged, the women and children receive assistance; and this not mere temporary charity, but counsel and help towards putting them in a self-supporting position. The few cases, I say, in which such wise and beneficent provision is made, are cases in which the particular officer's own heart prompts him to such efforts. But if the President's own heart were in this work—if he cared to have these people not only receive their present right of individual freedom, but to have them commence a career of progressive prosperity in freedom—some care of this sort, some vigor of movement in this direction, would be required of every officer to whom the supervision of Southern blacks is committed.

While the arrangements of the kind in question continue to be neglected, the vast amount of suffering now existing among the colored people West and South is likely to increase as the cold weather increases. And, meantime, the Copperhead press is pointing to this distress as the result of an "abolition policy," instead of confessing the manifest truth that it proceeds from failure to adopt such a policy; failure to follow up the proclamation with civil and military provisions suited to render it effective; failure to intrust the execution of it to officers friendly to that policy; failure to arouse confidence and self-respect in the colored soldiers by giving them equality of position and treatment with others; failure to attend to the just and reasonable demands made in their behalf by their officers; and, above all, from failure of the Executive to address the colored people *directly* with those few words of official recognition, encouragement and assurance, which would immediately enlist the enthusiasm of them all, North and South, in favor of the United States, and in opposition to the rebellion.

As soon as the Legislature adjourned, Gov. Andrew issued a proclamation describing the provisions newly made for the benefit of volunteers and their families, and making earnest appeal to Massachusetts men to do promptly and vigorously their part in the present crisis. The Mayor of this city issued his call to the same effect, and the work of recruiting at once commenced with vigor. Rallying meetings were held in all the Wards, and in each a committee of twenty was chosen to act in concert with the members of the City Council. There is no doubt but Massachusetts will speedily raise her quota, and Boston her share of it.

At the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Teachers' Association, now in session in this city, one of the questions for discussion is—What kind of instruction in schools will best increase the loyalty and patriotism of the American people? As another similar sign of the times here, I may mention that a sermon was preached in one of our churches last evening on "Amusements in Hospitals," inculcating one of the duties which our quiet and prosperous community owes to those who have gone out to fight its battles. Men who are recovering from wounds or sickness in the military hospitals must often find the time of their detention dragging wearily. A certain class of the friends of the soldier give assiduous attention to the work of tract distribution, and a few of the publications of this class have interest enough to cause them to be read, in the absence of other literature. But the convalescent soldiers need, and should receive, a good supply of more attractive and more useful reading; and Abolitionists should give special attention to the supply of this want in the case of the colored regiments, both officers and men. Interesting books, new and old, current newspapers, and especially anti-slavery pamphlets and newspapers, would find a hearty welcome in the camps and hospitals, and would probably produce more effect there than upon other classes of readers. If there are subscribers to THE STANDARD whose papers, after the first reading, are allowed to lie useless, or to be destroyed, such waste should be stopped forthwith. Let every such person apply such papers to the soldiers' use, as soon as his own family has read them. A two-cent stamp will carry two papers of the size of THE STANDARD in one envelope; and if the donor knows no officer or soldier to whom to direct them, let him direct to some military hospital, and they cannot fail to be of service.

A great Fair for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission is shortly to be held in the Music Hall, the use of which has been gratuitously given by the proprietors for that purpose. In fact it is better for these same proprietors that the performances of the great instrument should cease for a while, since the community has had nearly a surfeit of organ concerts at high prices. The manufacture and management of popular enthusiasm require as much skill as the manufacture and management of any musical instrument, and a declining enthusiasm rarely recovers its healthy state. It was very well to make those who witnessed the inauguration of the organ pay three dollars for that privilege. But when two more three-dollar concerts were announced to be given within a week, thousands of those who had originally been eager to go, and to go soon, became content to wait. And when it was found that even the rich did not go in numbers sufficient to fill the house, all the more were the waiters content to wait; for it holds true of concert houses as of theatres, that nothing so strongly attracts people to go as the assurance that the crowd is so great that they cannot possibly get in.

The key of disparaging criticism, being once struck, is easily repeated and echoed. Many are finding courage to say, with a critic in *The Commonwealth* newspaper, that, however fine the tones of the great organ may be its colossal dimensions deform rather than adorn the finely proportioned hall. Tastes, however, will differ upon this point as upon others. The next display of the instrument will take place under the auspices of the Handel and Haydn Society, who have never until now had a first class organ to lead their oratorios.

The Parker Fraternity Committee give notice, this evening, that the speaker announced in their programme will be unable to give the lecture that was expected of him to-morrow evening. The experience of the Committee, this year, illustrates the power of circumstances to baffle the most careful prearrangement. They had an admirable list of lecturers engaged, but unforeseen events, partly of a public, partly of a private nature, have prevented three of the most attractive from appearing.

NORTH.

AFFAIRS IN MISSOURI.—The Radicals of Missouri naturally felt some repugnance to voting for Mr. Henderson as U. S. Senator, the course of that gentlemen in regard to the bogus ordinance for the abolition of slavery, the removal of Gen. Curtis, etc., having been very distasteful to them. Their repugnance was overcome, however, when Mr. Henderson voluntarily placed himself on the right platform. The Jefferson City correspondent of the St. Louis *Democrat* says:

> "Before the coalition was effected between the Henderson and Brown men, a committee of conference, which was appointed by the Radical caucus, obtained from him the declaration that he would hereafter, in the Senate of the United States or out of it, support the Administration of Mr. Lincoln in all measures to sustain the government, Emancipation proclamation and arming of negroes included."

The same writer adds that Mr. Henderson's friends in the Legislature will support the bill providing for a new Constitutional Convention, with a view to the immediate abolition of slavery in Missouri.

The united Copperheads and Conservatives are said to be making desperate efforts to throw out a sufficient number of the votes cast in the recent election by soldiers to overcome the majority for the Radical ticket. We trust their efforts will fail.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for December (Boston: Ticknor and Fields) is rather above than below its usual standard of excellence. It contains, "The Man without a Country," by Edward Everett Hale; "The Birds of Killingworth," a poem, by H. W. Longfellow; "Literary Life in Paris—the Garret"; "The Great Air-Engine," by the author of "Life in the Iron Mills"; "A Loyal Woman's No," a poem; "Eugene Delacroix," by W. J. Stillman; "Sympathetic Lying"; "Something about Bridges," by H. T. Tuckerman; "Internal Structure and Progression of the Glazier," by Louis Agassiz; "In an Attic," a poem, by Mrs. Akers; "Longfellow," by G. W. Curtis; "Letter to a Peace Democrat," by Francis Wayland, Jr.; Reviews and Literary Notices.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY for December (John F. Trow & Co., 50 Greene st.). *Contents*: "The Nation," by Hugh Miller Thompson; "Buckle, Draper, and a Science of History," by E. B. Freeland; "Diary of Francis Krasinska"; "The Sleeping Soldier," by Edward N. Pomeroy; "My Mission," by Ella Rodman; "Letter-Writing," by Park Benjamin"; "The Year." by W. H. Henderson; "The Great American Crisis. Part One," by Stephen Pearl Andrews; "Was he Successful?" by Richard B. Kimball; "Dead," by Anna Gray"; "Reconstruction," by Henry Everett Russell; "Virginia," by H. T. Tuckerman; "She Defines her Position," a poem, by Eliza S. Randolph; "Whiffs from my Meerschaum," by Lieut. R. Wolcott; "Literary Notices"; "Editor's Table."

OBITUARY.

DIED, on the 31st ult., at Terre Haute, Indiana, Mrs. CARRIE DICKERSON, wife of Levi W. Dickerson—formerly Miss Carrie H. Wise of Philadelphia, in the 28th year of her age.

She was a woman of great sensibility and a most loving heart. No appeal of distress, whether from bond or free, was ever made to her in vain. Her active interest in the anti-slavery cause will be well remembered by her large circle of friends and well-wishers in Philadelphia. For "Carrie Wise," as she used familiarly to be called, was widely known in and around that city, and the object of much affectionate interest. Her life was short but pure, and, in its measure, a useful one. This is the comfort of her friends who mourn her early departure.

A PHILADELPHIAN.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

ANOTHER BATTLE IN TENNESSEE.

Good news from Tennessee comes by way of Chattanooga. A battle, which was commenced on Monday by a reconnoissance in force, was continued next day, with the most gratifying results. The enemy, though resisting sturdily the advance of our forces, have been driven back. This comprises the pith of the very brief telegraphic announcement. The retirement of the rebel army in front of Gen. Grant tells all that we could wish of the success of Burnside's resistance to Longstreet. Though the telegraph is so indefinite that we cannot make out whether an advance of Gen. Thomas found the enemy ready to retire on the slightest occasion, or whether the previous retirement of the enemy led to the advance by Gen. Thomas and the occupation of ground recently within the enemy's lines, yet the news is sufficiently clear and satisfactory upon the general fact that the recent *status* is broken up.

Gen. Burnside on the 22d was still successfully holding Knoxville, and had assured the citizens that he would continue to do so. The rebel force was estimated at 36,000 strong. The rebels had withdrawn from the south side of the river. The artillery fighting on the 19th and 20th inst. was very severe. Brig.-Gen. Sanders, who was wounded on the 19th, has since died.

FROM THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

There were reports of a movement by Gen. Meade on Monday, but they were unfounded. Lee's army stretches from Madison Court-house to the line of the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad. One division of Ewell's corps occupies Fredericksburg. Lee is said to be preparing to go into Winter quarters.

FROM CHARLESTON.

On Tuesday, 17th inst., Gen. Gillmore for the third time, gave the city a foretaste of the judgment he is able to visit upon it by throwing twenty-one shells into the business portion of the place, nineteen of which exploded, doubtless causing a great deal of injury to property, if not to life. On Thursday he continued the bombardment by sending fifteen more of his destructive messengers right into the heart of the city, and not without destructive effect, if the sudden hoisting of a hospital flag by the rebels upon one of their prominent buildings be any indication. The firing against Fort Sumter is still continued, and the sea-wall of the work is said to be entirely destroyed, but that the rebels have still a hope of holding the ruins is pretty evident, if the report that they are constructing a bombproof in the midst of the wreck be correct.

THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, Nov. 20, 1863.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 17th has been received, in which you inquire whether any documents are now accessible, or will be likely soon to be published by our government relating to the exchange of prisoners of war; and you justly remark that the subject excites a deep interest in consequence of the sufferings of our men in Richmond.

The correspondence published in the Richmond papers does not, it is thought, present the matter in its true light. In a few days the entire correspondence will be made public here by authority.

There are several serious difficulties in the way of continuing an exchange of prisoners. One is the *bad faith* of the enemy in putting into active service many thousands of paroled prisoners, captured at Vicksburg and elsewhere, without releasing any of our soldiers held by them. But another difficulty of still graver importance is the *peremptory refusal by the enemy to exchange colored soldiers and their white officers upon any terms whatever*. It is well known that they have threatened to sell colored captured soldiers into slavery, and to hang their white officers.

The government demands that all officers and soldiers should be fairly exchanged, otherwise no more prisoners of war will be given up. The faith of the government is pledged to these officers and troops that they shall be protected, and it cannot and will not abandon to the savage cruelty of slave-masters a single officer or soldier who has been called on to defend the flag of his country, and thus exposed to the hazards of war.

It has been suggested that exchanges might go on until all except the colored troops and their white officers have been given up. But if this were allowed the rebels would not only be relieved of the burden of maintaining our troops, but they would get back their own men, retaining their power over the very persons whom we are solemnly bound to rescue, and upon whom they could *then*, without fear of retaliation, carry into execution the inhuman cruelties they have so basely threatened.

The President has ordered that the stern law of retaliation shall without hesitation be enforced, to avenge the death of the first Union soldier of whatever color, whom the enemy shall in cold blood destroy, or sell into slavery. All other questions between us may be postponed for future settlement, but the fair exchange of colored soldiers and of their white officers will be insisted on by the government before another rebel soldier or officer will be exchanged.

The sufferings of our men in Richmond are the subject of deep regret and sympathy here; and there has been no want of effort to afford all possible relief.

Very truly yours,
WILLIAM WHITING.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom*."—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

THE RHODE ISLAND COLORED ARTILLERY REGIMENT.

Rhode Island has a regiment of colored artillery defending Dutch Island in Narragansett Bay. A few days since, a company, embracing the Governor of the State and his staff, the Lieut.-Governor, members of the Legislature, the President of Brown University, members of the city government of Providence and Newport, U. S. Senator Anthony, Bishop Clark and other distinguished clergymen, etc.—some two or three hundred in all—made an excursion to the island, in the steamer Montpelier, for the purpose of reviewing the regiment and presenting to it a flag. The troops being massed in front of Gov. Smith, he produced a magnificent silk flag, trimmed with golden fringe, and bearing upon its folds the designation of the regiment, and presenting the standard to Col. Viall, he said:

Col. Viall, Officers and Men of the Fourteenth:

It affords me much pleasure to present to your Regiment, our Fourteenth "Corps d'Afrique," this flag, and I feel confident it will be entrusted to as brave men as ever entered the service in defence of our country and its liberties. And I feel assured that but one thought will occupy the mind of every man in the Regiment, and that thought is, *our country*. Let this flag be your beacon light, its stars ever to shine. I now surrender it to your keeping. Let its history be Rhode Island's history.

Col. Viall made a suitable response on behalf of the regiment, and then followed speeches by U. S. Senator Anthony, Bishop Clark, Rev. Dr. Hall, Rev. Dr. Sears (President of Brown University), and Rev. Dr. Swain.

Senator Anthony was happy to add his congratulations to those whose praises on military matters were so much more valuable than his own. The exhibition which they had made of discipline, of drill, of orderly and soldierly conduct, would do credit to any body of men in any service. He had not doubted, from the beginning, that, in this war, the African race would vindicate its manhood, and silence, by its deeds, the sneers of its enemies. He had never doubted the courage, the fidelity or the patriotism of the men whose ancestors had mingled their blood with ours at Red Bank, and, with irresistible fury three times, hurled back the Hessian charge; [illegible] who received the thanks of Jackson at New Orleans, and whose deeds at Milliken's Bend and Port Hudson were fresh in the recollection of every loyal man. A colored regiment in Rhode Island was no new thing in history. It had not a name to make for itself, but the more difficult duty of maintaining a name glorious with ancestral memories. It is nigh upon one hundred years since the Rhode Island colored regiment, under Col. Christopher Greene, as brave a man as ever drew a sword (his great-grandson was present, one of the officers of the Governor's staff), received the praises of Washington. Three generations have gone by, and now another regiment goes forth to help defend the inheritance which Washington left us, and which their ancestors helped ours to achieve. It goes forth under the most favorable auspices. It has received from the Governor and the State the same aid and encouragement that were extended to the white regiments. He thought he risked nothing in saying that it would receive equal justice from the President and the Federal government. And when this war is ended, when the foulest treason that ever blackened a land has been crushed, then their race and ours will together enjoy the rights that both have confirmed, and the privileges that one has acquired. The man who has worn the uniform of the United States, who has followed the stars and stripes to the field of battle, can never be a slave; but throughout our broad land, every man made in the image of his Creator would stand forth in the liberty with which his Creator had endowed him.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Clark congratulated the soldiers of the Corps d'Afrique on the position which they held that day. It is a distinguished honor to belong to such a regiment as this, the 14th in the order of place which has been furnished by Rhode Island to the war, but inferior to none in the standard of physical soundness and ability. You stand in these ranks, not because you have been drafted by the civil authority, but as volunteers, as men who have willingly offered themselves to save and redeem their country. For, hereafter, this will be your country as well as ours, and your right to all its privileges and immunities will be amply vindicated. The Bishop pleasantly mentioned that once in a prayer-meeting held by certain slaves at the South, one of the speakers reminded his brethren that for several weeks they had neglected in their services to remember the white element in society. It may be that the white element is comparatively losing caste and the colored element coming to the surface. Perhaps we have had our turn long enough, and you have only to show yourselves competent to compete with others, in order to secure your true position as American citizens. You have enlisted in a great and holy cause. It is not merely the Union of our country that is at stake, it is not merely the question of slavery or freedom that you are to determine; you now go forth to fight the great battle of civilization, to settle the question whether the human race, yours and ours, on this continent shall go backward or forwards. We gladly welcome your aid in this mighty struggle, and may God grant that when you return to us, with that beautiful banner, to-day so fresh and fair, torn and riddled by hostile shot and crimsoned with the blood of its brave defenders, we may hold our jubilee over a nation redeemed from traitorous rebellion and consecrated as the home of universal freedom.

The Rev. Dr. Hall said:—It is a happy day when, in the name of religion and loyalty, we of different races, as men say, can greet each other, as of one nation and one interest. In the war which summons you here, you of all men have a vital concern. You well know how closely you are connected with the origin and cause of the conflict, and you are here to do what you can to guide it to an issue alike glorious for us all—Freedom!

The Rev. Dr. Sears, President of Brown University, said:—The race in whose hands the National government now is, cannot longer maintain its freedom without procuring that of the colored race; and you cannot obtain freedom for your people without helping us maintain ours. The Rev. Doctor did not care to speak of the equality of the races or of the superiority of one over the other. Let that question be settled by the parties at their leisure as other races do. The English and the French have their notions on that point. In a steamer crossing the English channel, an Englishman after discoursing at length upon this subject, closed by saying, "I thank God that I am an Englishman." A Frenchman sitting by replied, "I tank God dat you am an Englishman, too." That is the philosophical way of settling such questions of the races. The great contest in which we are all engaged is, whether a human being is, as such, to be free. This is now the practical issue. The whole civilized world is watching the progress of the conflict and looking for the probable result with an interest more universal and more intense than was ever felt in such a case before. The well-being and progress of mankind are, in an important respect, committed to our keeping. Others can only be interested spectators. Our action alone will for ages at least decide the grand question of human liberty. Let us meet the crisis. Let us work together on this battle-ground of freedom till the victory is achieved and our liberty,—the liberty of us all—is established.

The Rev. Dr. Swain said:—The scenes of to-day take the darkness from our Declaration of Independence, reaffirm it, and hold it up in lines of living light. It is our chains, said he, that are broken to-day, as well as yours. Liberty has been accomplished here on this unbloody field, as truly as it can be gained upon the sodden soil of the rebellious South.

ENLISTING COLORED TROOPS IN NEW YORK.

From The Evening Post.

In response to a call signed by Peter Cooper, Gen. Sickles, and many other well-known gentlemen, a large meeting of prominent citizens of New York was held recently at Clinton Hall to take measures for the encouragement of volunteering, including the enlistment of colored troops in this city and State. Gen. Strong was called to the chair, and made a patriotic speech, urging the duty of the nation not only to employ the means at its command for the suppression of the rebellion, but to secure justice to all men, black or white, who were fighting in the ranks. The following resolutions were eloquently supported by the General and unanimously adopted by the meeting:

> Resolved, First, That this meeting appoint a committee of twenty-five to take measures to encourage enlistments, and help to fill, by all honorable means, the quota of the State of New York by volunteers.
>
> Second, That as the Governor has refused to raise, or authorize to raise, colored troops in this State, this committee be requested to appoint a sub-committee to proceed immediately to Washington, and ask the President to raise colored troops to be credited to the quota of this State.
>
> Third, That this committee be instructed to call a mass meeting, as soon as arrangements can be made, to take measures to carry forward our object.

Adjutant Haggerty followed. He denounced Gov. Seymour, and in the name of Irishmen claimed that the Bradys and Meaghers were the best exponents of Irish sentiments. The Adjutant had proved his devotion by fighting under the stars and stripes. Rev. H. H. Garnett, pastor of the Shiloh (colored) congregation, made the next speech. He pledged black men to do their utmost with proper encouragement, to put down the rebellion, and referred to their enlistment from this city in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island regiments. Col. Shannon, Mr. H. O'Reilly, and others, also made speeches, when a committee of twenty-five was appointed under the resolution. Peter Cooper was made chairman of the committee, and the meeting adjourned.

ENLISTMENTS IN MISSOURI.

Gen. Schofield has issued an order, under date St. Louis, Nov. 14, from which we copy as follows:

> Whereas, The exigencies of the war require that colored troops should be recruited in the State of Missouri, the following regulations having been approved and ordered by the President, will govern the recruiting service for colored troops in Missouri, viz:
>
> I. All able bodied colored men, whether free or slaves, will be received into the service; the loyal owners of slaves enlisted being entitled to receive compensation as hereinafter provided.
>
> II. All persons enlisted into the service shall forever thereafter be free.
>
> V. The owner of every slave recruited into the service shall receive from the recruiting officer a certificate to that effect, together with a copy of the descriptive list of the person enlisted.
>
> VI. A board, of three persons, is to be appointed by the President to whom the rolls and recruiting lists shall be furnished, for public information, and on demand exhibited to any person claiming under oath that his or her slave has been enlisted, and that he or she has not received a certificate and descriptive list, etc. Any such person shall also be permitted to inspect the recruits at any station, or at the general rendezvous, for the purpose of identification.
>
> VII. If any person shall, within ten days after the filing of said rolls, make a claim for the service of any person so enlisted, the Board shall proceed to examine the proof of title, and, if valid, shall give a certificate of enlistment and descriptive list.
>
> VIII. The Board shall award to the owner of each slave enlisted a just compensation for his services, not exceeding the sum of three hundred dollars, upon the presenting by said owner of the certificate of enlistment, and filing a valid deed of manumission, and of relief, and making satisfactory proof of title. *Provided:*
>
> *First.* That no person who is, or has been engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who has in any way given, or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the government, shall be awarded any compensation for the services of any slave enlisted into the service of the United States.
>
> *Second.* That no compensation shall be awarded for the services of any slave who has *at any time* during the present rebellion, belonged to any person who has been in rebellion, or given aid or comfort to the enemies of the government.
>
> *Third.* All claimants shall file with their claims an oath of allegiance to the government of the United States.

THE LABORS OF MAJOR STEARNS.

Intelligence from Nashville informs us that Maj. Geo. L. Stearns is organizing a negro regiment at Gallatin, another at Columbia, one at Murfreesboro, and one at Clarksville. He musters one hundred and two men into each company, including four experienced cooks. In six weeks he raised one full regiment, and six hundred men in another. Enlistments at Gallatin and Columbia, on the borders of Kentucky, somehow or other rope in a great many Kentucky slaves, and it is said to be quite difficult to distinguish them from the Tennessee article. Maj. Stearns is gradually being charged with the support of crowds of impoverished women and children, who come within our lines. His purpose is to put them on abandoned rebel farms around Nashville.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

FREDERICK DOUGLASS'S SONS.

Frederick Douglass, Jr., has enlisted in the 54th Massachusetts (colored) regiment, and will proceed immediately to the camp at Readville, Mass., where he will be engaged for the present in the recruiting service. He is the last of Mr. Douglass's sons remaining at home, both of his brothers, Lewis and Charles, having joined the 54th Mass., now stationed on Morris Island. Sergeant Lewis Douglass is at present at home, slowly recovering from a severe attack of typhoid fever, the result of the arduous service preliminary to the capture of Morris Island and the terrible assault on Fort Wagner.—*Syracuse Standard.*

DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF.

New Orleans, Nov. 13.—Adjt.-Gen. Thomas and Maj.-Gen. Wadsworth arrived in this city day before yesterday. The former has been visiting all the important points in Gen. Grant's department, and, indeed, all the military points in the Southwest, attending to and stimulating the recruitment and organization of colored troops. In this tour, which will close by an inspection of officers in this department, he has been eminently successful, and the future results arising from the employment of black troops, it is alleged, will be incalculable. Gen. Thomas has paid particular attention to the selection of officers for the various negro regiments, and particularly to the education, qualification and military standing of the field and staff officers. Since he has announced the intention of the government to make the colored troops an integral part of the regular force, thousands of educated officers have applied for commissions; so that the difficulty the government experienced a few months ago in obtaining officers for colored regiments has been entirely overcome, and a contrary state of affairs exists. Many important points along the Mississippi, from Cairo to New Orleans, viz: Columbus, Fort Randolph, Fort Pillow, Helena, Island No. 10, Lake Providence, Milliken's Bend, and Port Hudson, are garrisoned almost entirely by negro troops, and at other points the garrisons are adulterated with them. The number of negro troops actually under arms along the Mississippi is upwards of forty thousand. Additions to this number are being rapidly made.—*Cor. N. Y. Herald.*

OFFICERS EXAMINED FOR NEGRO REGIMENTS.

It is to be regretted that a less exacting examination of candidates for commissions in negro regiments prevails in Cincinnati, and in Tennessee and Louisiana, than in Washington. Some of the first appointees in the Southwest reëxamined here have been rejected. There is danger that the experiment of making soldiers of the slaves from the cotton and sugar estates in the Mississippi Valley will be one of very imperfect success. The Washington examinations are faithfully thorough. Up to the 21st of November 803 candidates have been before Casey's Board. Of these, have been accepted, 470; rejected, 390; declined examination, 1. The candidates who have successfully passed have been Colonels, 5; Lieutenant-Colonels, 8; Majors, 19; Captains, 83; First Lieutenants, 124; Second Lieutenants, 231. every one of these is *unquestionably* fit for the command given him. There were selected from commissioned officers, 84; privates and non-commissioned officers, 283; citizens, 103. Of the registered there were commissioned officers, 57; privates and non-commissioned officers, 236; citizens, 99. The names of the Colonels who passed are, S. Fellows, First Lieutenant Fourteenth New Hampshire; S. A. Duncan, Major, Fourteenth New Hampshire; L. F. Haskell, Lieutenant and Aid-de-Camp; C. W. Fribly, Captain, Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers; J. Shaw, citizen from Rhode Island.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

Summary.

A distinguished Copperhead from New York, looking over the late Southern news, remarked bitterly, "I observe the Peace men have carried several districts in North Carolina. That is more than they can do in our State."

CRAWFORD'S GODDESS OF LIBERTY.—The first section of Crawford's colossal statue of the Goddess of Liberty was on Saturday hoisted to its position on the dome of the Capitol. It is in three sections. All will be in position by the meeting of Congress.

THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION IN MARYLAND.—A wealthy secesh slaveholder from one of the lower Counties of Maryland stated the other day that more than half the slaves in the Maryland Peninsula have already absconded or been recruited; and declares if recruiting be not stopped, slavery there will be defunct in three months. He mentions an instance where out of 321 slaves, only 83 remain, and these are old men and women and little children.

Among the treaties to come before the Senate for ratification is one made last Summer by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with the Chiefs of the Creeks, by which those who joined the rebels are permitted to return to their allegiance, but are to be forever disqualified from holding offices of honor, emolument or trust among the Indians; and the treaty engages to abolish slavery, as the Cherokee Nation has done already, and to colonize freedmen on land belonging to the Creeks.

The Richmond papers are not in the habit of looking to the North or the East for the true light. Accordingly *The Sentinel* of that benighted city says: "No opportunity has ever yet been given to Maryland to rise." On the contrary the opportunity has been both given and accepted, and Maryland is rapidly rising out of the edge of the darkness that enveloped with impenetrable Egyptian gloom the States with which some of its blind citizens desired to maintain an unnatural and ruinous connection.—*Boston Transcript.*

A FALSE CHARGE.—Joseph Shuman and Edward Ladwick, privates in the 4th Maine Infantry, who were captured beyond Alexandria, have been tried and convicted on the charge of "nigger-stealing," and sentenced to three years imprisonment in the Penitentiary, where they are now confined at hard labor. The charge was without foundation, and the sentence unwarranted. The trial occurred in October, 1862, yet our authorities knew nothing of it until informed by Dr. Rucker.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

Some of the students of the University of Michigan had the bad taste to pay Mr. Vallandigham a complimentary visit at Windsor, a few days since. In a speech he made to them, the great exile declared that "As there are hypocrites in the pulpit, empirics in medicine, pettifoggers at the bar, and pretenders everywhere, so there are demagogues in political life." A truism of which the students need not to have returned to the United States to find an illustration.

An old lady named Summerfield, residing in West Philadelphia, died on the 12th inst., at the age of one hundred years. She had worked for the government for sixty years, and lived in a tent, corner of Eighth and Vine streets. Her husband had enlisted in the United States service during its Indian wars in Florida. She went along with him, sewed up the soldiers' clothes, and assisted in every way on the battle-field. After peace was restored the couple returned to Philadelphia, and from that time until within a few months of her death she had worked for the United States Arsenal. Her husband was in the United States service through the war of 1776.

STONEWALL JACKSON'S ADMISSION INTO HEAVEN.—I was much amused at the rebel prisoners' account of Stonewall Jackson's admission into heaven. They were strong admirers of Gen. Jackson, and especially of the great success of his flank movements. "The day after his death," said they, "two angels came down from heaven to carry Gen. Jackson back with them. They searched all through the camp, but could not find him. They went to the prayer-meeting, to the hospital, and to every other place where they thought themselves likely to find him, but in vain. Finally they were forced to return without him. What was their surprise to find that he had just executed a splendid flank movement and got into heaven before them."—*Correspondence Boston Recorder.*

THE SHAW MONUMENT.—*Beaufort, S. C., Nov.* 5, 1863.—The following contributions to the fund for erecting a monument to the late Col. Robert G. Shaw, 54th Massachusetts Volunteers, have been received by the Treasurer since the last public acknowledgment:

From 1st Regiment S. C. Vols. (in addition to $518 75 already acknowledged),	$64 75
From laborers on the works at Fort Clinch, Fernandina, Florida,	92 00
From the colored people at St. Augustine, Florida,	52 95
From 19 members Co. E, 2d S. C. Vols.,	10 60
Previously acknowledged,	1,146 05
Total,	$1,366 35

Plans for the monument—which is to be built of Massachusetts granite—have been already ordered to be made.

E. W. HOOPER, Captain, and A. D. C.,
Treasurer of the Fund.

—*Beaufort Free South.*

DISMAL ANTICIPATIONS OF THE REBELS.—A gentleman who was formerly editor of a "Democratic" newspaper in New Jersey, and a member of the Legislature of that State, but who was at the South when the rebellion commenced, and has remained there ever since, serving for a time in the rebel army, two weeks since made his way North, going to New Jersey, where he is said to have had a private interview with some of the opposition leaders. His account of the condition of affairs at the South is said to have been dismal in the extreme; the rebellion could not possibly, he said, hold out another season; the people were convinced that the North could not be beaten, and were losing heart; dissatisfaction with Jeff. Davis was becoming general, and he added that the only safety for the people of the revolted States was in the overthrow of the despotism which now oppresses them, by the triumph everywhere of the Federal arms. He told his New Jersey friends, moreover, that they must stop their cry for peace; that their own safety, their personal interests, demanded now the success of the government, and it was sheer madness to seek any other result. The gentleman thus exhibiting the utter hopelessness of the rebel cause was a firm believer in secession and the ability of the South to maintain its position; he has no sympathy at all with Northern ideas, and his confessions, therefore, are to be accepted as the result of profound convictions enforced upon him by personal observation and experience.—*Eve. Post.*

SLAVE-CATCHING IN WASHINGTON.—Catching negroes is still a flourishing business in Washington. A slave of a Copperhead Marylander ran away to this city last week, and was captured under the forms of law and forcibly carried back to bondage. It is suggested by anti-slavery men here, that if the scene which was acted here last week could have been portrayed one month ago in the London newspapers, Mr. Beecher would hardly have ventured upon saying that the fugitive slave enactment is a dead letter—a law which is trampled under foot. The statement would undoubtedly have been correct, so far as most of the free States are concerned, but in the National Capital, after a contest of months upon this very point, it is decided that fugitive slaves shall be caught and returned to their masters, though at the same time it is a fact that the local laws of the district are violated every day in the year by the military authorities. The plea in the one case is military necessity, but it does not avail to save the fugitive negro from a possible return to bondage.

The colored refugees from the South are all to be removed to the Virginia side of the Potomac. They are not safe in Washington from the slave-catchers.—*Wash. Cor. Eve. Post.*

INDEPENDENTLY POOR.—There is such a thing as being independently poor as well as independently rich. It is exemplified now-a-days by every dirty Irishman who stands on the street corner waiting for a job. You observe him in the distance, smoking his dirty pipe, the remains of a hat perched on his tangled carroty locks, hands in his pockets, and little flags of truce fluttering from various crevices in the rear of his pantaloons. His general appearance is pacific, and you approach mildly and offer him a job of an hour, for which you are willing to pay fifty cents. And now very speedily a change comes over the spirit of your dream. Instead of being regarded as the conferrer of a favor, by which said Irishman can put fifty cents into his pocket, where now apparently there is nothing but his hand, and with that fifty cents put bread into the mouths of the old woman and the childer, you find that you have asked a favor. It is a favor too that cannot be granted. Indeed you may consider yourself fortunate if the gentleman with the little flags of truce does not consider himself insulted. He may condescend to inquire how far you want your coal carried, or what is the distance from his present standing place to the garden which you wish to have him put in order for the Winter, and may mention casually a dollar and a half as he walks leisurely to the other side of the street. You may also pursue your investigations further, make more acquaintances of this sort, and finally—go home and get in your coal or clean up your yard yourself. An Irishman now-a-days would stand still all day before he would do it for less than four times what it is worth, and yet pay him well; but that he gets enough to do at his own price is shown by the great demand and the small supply. The occupation of the Catholic Church must soon be gone, for the Paddy has surely found his paradise; and this in spite of the fact that every man who wants "a little job done" wishes him in purgatory.—*Springfield Republican.*

Special Notices.

THE afternoon meeting of the Women's National League will be held at their office, room 20 Cooper Institute, Thursday afternoon of each week at 3 o'clock. Members, and all persons, men and women, wishing to coöperate in the work of the League—in rolling up Emancipation Petitions to Congress—are invited to attend.

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THE ATLANTIC FOR 1864

Will be in no wise inferior to the previous volumes, but it will be the constant aim of the Publishers to advance the high standard already established for the magazine. In furtherance of this aim they have secured for their new volume several

FEATURES OF PECULIAR INTEREST.

Among these they are now able to announce definitely that ROBERT BROWNING will contribute several New Poems.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE will print his New Romance in the columns of THE ATLANTIC, commencing, probably, with the February number;

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW will publish in THE ATLANTIC some Cantos of his Translation of Dante's "Divina Commedia";

MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE begins, in the January number, a series of capital sketches, to be continued through several months, with the title of "House and Home Papers, by Christopher Crowfield";

J. T. TROWBRIDGE has written a New Novel, which will be commenced in THE ATLANTIC during the next volume.

Prof. LOUIS AGASSIZ will continue those admirable articles upon different branches of natural science which have constituted so interesting and important a feature in the late volumes of THE ATLANTIC.

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THE fallacy and transparent contradictions of Henry Ward Beecher's reported speeches in England, in reference to the sacred obligations of personal freedom in our Constitution, and their infamous assumptions in regard to the legality of slavery, basely conceding the vital point in our controversy with the rebels, should be denounced and reprobated by every friend of religion, liberty and our Constitution. See these Speeches reviewed in THE PRINCIPIA of this week, published at No. 104 William street, and sold everywhere.

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Miscellaneous Department.

OLD CHURCHES.

Hast been where the full-blossomed bay-tree is blowing
  With odors like Eden around?
Hast seen where the broad-leaved palmetto is growing,
  And wild vines are fringing the ground?
Hast sat in the shade of catalpas at noon,
  And ate the cool gourds of their clime:
Or slept where magnolias were screening the moon,
  And the mocking-bird sung her sweet rhyme?

And didst mark in thy journey at dew-dropping eve,
  Some ruin peer high o'er thy way,
With rooks [illegible] round it, and bushes to weave
  A mantle for turrets so gray?
Did ye [illegible] some [illegible]
  Lived there, when the country was young?
And [illegible]
  How th[illegible]

And did ye not [illegible] the Lord
  Had dealt [illegible]
And that [illegible] under its sward.
  That once [illegible]
And said ye [illegible] to steep
  When ye [illegible] abroad,
The bard seeks [illegible] heap,
  Save only th[illegible] be[illegible]

O, ye that shall pass by those [illegible] again,
  Go kneel in their [illegible],
And not till the [illegible] have [illegible],
  Rise up, and [illegible] to your [illegible]
Pray God that those [illegible] may be crowded once more,
  Those altars surrounded and spread,
While anthems and prayers are [illegible] as of yore,
  As they take of the wine-cup and bread.

Ay, pray on thy knees, that each old rural fane
  They have left to the bat and the mole
May sound with the loud-pealing organ again,
  And the full-swelling voice of the soul.
Peradventure when next thou shalt journey thereby,
  Even-bells shall ring out on the air,
And the dim-lighted windows reveal to thine eye
  The snowy-robed pastor at prayer.

Arthur Cleveland Coxe.

THE NATIONAL CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG.

CEREMONIES OF DEDICATION.

[On Thursday, Nov. 19, the National Cemetery in which repose the remains of the brave men who fell in the battles of Gettysburg, was dedicated by appropriate exercises in the presence of a large concourse of people, among whom were the President of the United States, Secretary Seward, the Governors of many of the loyal States, and many other eminent citizens. The orator of the occasion was Edward Everett, the peroration of whose address will be found below.]

MR. EVERETT'S ADDRESS—THE PERORATION.

The war can have no other termination compatible with the permanent safety and welfare of the country, but the complete destruction of the military power of the enemy. I have, on other occasions, attempted to show that to yield to his demands and acknowledge his independence, thus resolving the Union at once into two hostile governments, with a certainty of further disintegration, would annihilate the strength and the influence of the country, as a member of the family of nations; afford to foreign powers the opportunity and the temptation for disastrous and humiliating interference in our affairs; wrest from the Middle and Western States some of their great natural outlets to the sea, and some of their most important lines of internal communication; deprive the commerce and navigation of the country of two-thirds of our seacoast and of the fortresses which protect it; not only so, but would enable each individual State, some of them with a white population equal to a good-sized Northern county—or rather the dominant party in each State—to cede its territory, its harbors, its fortresses, the mouths of its rivers, to any foreign Power. It cannot be that the people of the loyal States—that twenty-two million of brave and prosperous freemen—will, for the temptation of a brief truce in an eternal border war, consent to this hideous national suicide. Do not think that I exaggerate the consequences of yielding to the demands of the leaders of the rebellion. I understate them. They require of us not only all the sacrifices I have named, not only to cede to them—a foreign and hostile power—all the territory of the United States at present occupied by the rebel forces, but the abandonment to them of the vast regions we have rescued from their grasp—of Maryland, of a part of Eastern Virginia and the whole of Western Virginia, the seacoast of North and South Carolina; Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri; Arkansas, and the larger portion of Mississippi and Louisiana; in most of which, with the exception of lawless guerillas there is not a rebel in arms; in all of which the great majority of the people are loyal to the Union. We must give back, too, the helpless colored population, thousands of whom are periling their lives in the ranks of our armies, to a bondage rendered tenfold more bitter, by the momentary enjoyment of freedom. Finally, we must surrender every man in the Southern country, white or black, who has moved a finger or spoken a word for the restoration of the Union, to a reign of terror as remorseless as that of Robespierre, which has been the chief instrument by which the rebellion has been organized and sustained, and has already filled the prisons of the South with noble men, whose only crime is that they are not traitors. The South is full of such men. I do not believe there has been a day since the election of President Lincoln, when, if an ordinance of secession could have been fairly submitted to the mass of the people, in any single Southern State, a majority of ballots would have been given in its favor. No, not in South Carolina. It is not possible that the majority of the people, even of that State, if permitted, without fear or favor, to give a ballot on the question, would have abandoned a leader like Petigru, and all the memories of the Gadsdens, the Rutledges, and the Cotesworth Pinckneys of the Revolutionary and Constitutional age, to follow the agitators of the present day. Nor must we be deterred from the vigorous prosecution of the war by the suggestion, continually thrown out by the rebels and those who sympathize with them, that however it might have been at an earlier stage, there has been engendered by the operations of the war a state of exasperation and bitterness, which, independent of all reference to the original nature of the matters in controversy, will forever prevent the restoration of the Union, and the return of harmony between the two great sections of the country. This opinion I take to be entirely without foundation. No man can deplore more than I do the miseries of every kind, unavoidably incident to war. Who could stand on this spot and call to mind the scenes of the 1–3 of July with any other feeling? A sad foreboding of what would ensue, if war should break out between North and South, has haunted me through life, and led me perhaps too long to tread in the path of hopeless compromise, in the fond endeavor to conciliate those who were pre-determined not to be conciliated. But it is not true, as is pretended by the rebels and their sympathizers, that the war has been carried on by the United States without entire regard to those temperaments which are enjoined by the law of nations, by our modern civilization, and by the spirit of Christianity. It would be quite easy to point out, in the recent military history of the leading European powers, acts of violence and cruelty, in the prosecution of their wars, to which no parallel can be found among us. In fact when we consider the peculiar bitterness with which civil wars are almost invariably waged, we may justly boast of the manner in which the United States have carried on the contest. It is of course impossible to prevent the lawless acts of stragglers and deserters, or the occasional unwarrantable proceedings of subordinates on distant stations; but I do not believe there is, in all history, the record of a civil war of such gigantic dimensions, where so little has been done in the spirit of vindictiveness, as in this war, by the government and commanders of the United States: and this notwithstanding the provocation given by the rebel government by assuming the responsibility of wretches like Quantrell, refusing quarter to colored troops, and scourging and selling into slavery free colored men from the North, who fall into their hands, covering the sea with pirates, and starving prisoners of war to death. In the next place, if there are any present who believe that, in addition to the effect of the military operations of the war, the Confiscation acts, and Emancipation proclamations have embittered the rebels beyond the possibility of reconciliation, I would request them to reflect, that the tone of the rebel leaders and rebel press was just as bitter in the first months of the war nay before a gun was fired, as it is now. There were speeches made in Congress in the very last session before the rebellion, so ferocious, as to show that their authors were under the influence of a real frenzy. At the present day, if there is any discrimination made by the Confederate press in the affected scorn, hatred and contumely, with which every shade of opinion and sentiment in the loyal States is treated, the bitterest contempt is bestowed upon those at the North, who will speak the language of compromise, and who condemn those measures of the Administration, which are alleged to have rendered the return of peace hopeless. No, my friends, that gracious Providence which overrules all things for the best, from seeming evil still educing good, has so constituted our natures, that the violent excitement of the passions in one direction is generally followed by a reaction in an opposite direction, and the sooner for the violence. If it were not so, if anger produced abiding anger, if hatred caused undying hatred, if injuries inflicted and retaliated, of necessity led to new retaliations, with forever accumulating compound interest of revenge, then the world, thousands of years ago, would have been turned into an earthly hell, and the nations of the earth would have been resolved into clans of furies and demons, each forever warring with his neighbor. But it is not so, all history teaches a different lesson. The wars of the roses in England lasted an entire generation, from the battle of St. Albans in 1455 to that of Bosworth Field in 1485. Speaking of the former, Hume says: "This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of 30 years: which was signalized by twelve pitched battles; which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty; is computed to have cost the lives of 80 princes of the blood; and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which, at that time, men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit which was considered a point of honor, rendered the great families implacable in their resentments, and widened every moment the breach between the parties." Such was the state of things in England, under which an entire generation grew up; but when Henry VII., in whom the titles of the two houses were united, went up to London after the battle of Bosworth Field, to mount the throne, he was everywhere received with joyous acclamations, "as one ordained and sent from Heaven to put an end to the dissensions" which had so long afflicted the country. The great rebellion in England of the seventeenth century, after long and angry premonitions, may be said to have begun with the calling of the long Parliament in 1640, and to have ended with the return of Charles II. in 1660—twenty years of discord, conflict, and civil war; of confiscation, plunder, havoc; a proud hereditary peerage trampled in the dust; a National Church overturned, its clergy beggared, its most eminent prelate put to death: a military despotism established on the ruins of a monarchy which had subsisted seven hundred years, and the legitimate sovereign brought to the block; the great families which adhered to the king proscribed, impoverished, ruined; prisoners of war sold into slavery in the West Indies; in a word, everything that can embitter and madden contending factions. Such was the state of things for twenty years, and yet, by no gentle transition, but suddenly and "when the restoration of affairs appeared most hopeless," the son of the beheaded sovereign was brought back to his father's blood-stained throne, with such "unexpressible and universal joy" as led the merry monarch to exclaim, "He doubted it had been his own fault he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody who did not protest he had ever wished for his return." "In this wonderful manner," says Clarendon, "and with this incredible expedition did God put an end to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and had been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of murder, devastation, and parricide, that fire and sword, in the hands of the most wicked men in the world [it is a Royalist that is speaking] could be instruments of, almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming of the third. By these remarkable steps did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only bind up and heal all those wounds, but even made the scar as undiscernible as, in respect of the deepness, was possible, which was a glorious addition to the deliverance." In Germany, the wars of the Reformation and of Charles V. in the 16th century, the thirty years' war in the 17th century, the seven years war in the eighteenth century, not to speak of other less celebrated contests, entailed upon that country all the miseries of intestine strife for more than three centuries. At the close of the last-named war, "An officer," says Archenholz, "rode through seven villages in the Hesse and found in them but one human being." More than three hundred principalities, comprehended in the Empire, fermented with the fierce passions of proud and petty States; at the commencement of this period, the castles of robber-counts frowned upon every hill-top; a dreadful secret tribunal froze the hearts of men with terror throughout the land; religious hatred mingled its bitter poison in the seething cauldron of provincial animosity—but of all these deadly enmities between the States of Germany, scarcely the memory remains. There is no country in the world in which the sentiment of national brotherhood is stronger. In Italy, on the breaking up of the Roman Empire, society might be said to be resolved into its original elements; into hostile atoms, whose only movement was that of mutual repulsion. Ruthless barbarians had destroyed the old organizations and covered the land with a merciless feudalism. As the new civilization grew up, under the wing of the Church, the noble families and the walled towns fell madly into conflict with each other; the secular feud of Pope and Emperor scourged the land; province against province, city against city, street against street, waged remorseless war against each other from father to son, till Dante was able to fill his imaginary hell with the real demons of Italian history. So ferocious had the factions become, that the great poet-exile himself, the glory of his native city, and of his native language, was, by a decree of the municipality, ordered to be burned alive, if found in the City of Florence. But these deadly feuds and hatreds yielded to political influences, as the hostile cities were grouped into States under stable governments; the lingering traditions of the ancient animosities gradually died away, and now Tuscan and Lombard, Sardinian and Neapolitan, as if to shame the degenerate sons of America, are joining in one cry for a united Italy. In France, not to go back to the civil wars of the League in the sixteenth century, and of the Fronde in the seventeenth, not to speak of the dreadful scenes throughout the Kingdom which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes—we have in the great revolution which commenced at the close of the last century seen the bloodhounds of civil strife let loose as rarely before in the history of the world. The reign of terror established at Paris stretched its bloody Briarean arms to every city and village in the land; and if the most deadly feuds which ever divided a people had the power to cause permanent alienation and hatred, this surely was the occasion. But far otherwise the fact. In seven years from the fall of Robespierre, the strong arm of the youthful conqueror brought order out of the chaos of crime and woe; Jacobins whose hands were scarcely cleansed from the best blood of France met the returning emigrants, whose estates they had confiscated, and whose kindred they had dragged to the guillotine in the imperial antechambers; and when, after another turn of the wheel of fortune, Louis XVIII. was restored to his throne, he took the regicide Fouché, who had voted for his brother's death, to his Cabinet and confidence. The people of loyal America will never take to their confidence, or admit again to a share in their government, the hard-hearted men, whose cruel lust of power has brought this desolating war upon the land, but there is no personal bitterness felt even against them. They may live, if they can bear to live after wantonly causing the death of so many thousand fellow-men; they may live in safe obscurity beneath the shelter of the government they have sought to overthrow, or they may fly to the protection of the governments of Europe—some of them are already there, seeking, happily in vain, to obtain the aid of foreign powers in furtherance of their own treason. There let them stay. The humblest dead soldier, that lies cold and stiff in his grave before us, is an object of envy beneath the clods that cover him, in comparison with the living man, who is willing to grovel at the foot of a foreign throne, for assistance in compassing the ruin of his country. But the hour is coming, and now is, when the power of the leaders of the rebellion to delude and inflame must cease. There is no bitterness on the part of the masses. The people of the South are not going to wage an eternal war, for the wretched pretexts by which this rebellion is sought to be justified. The bonds that unite us as one people, a substantial community of origin, language, belief and law (the four great ties that hold the societies of men together), common national and political interests; a common history; a common pride in a glorious ancestry; a common interest in this great heritage of blessings; the very geographical features of the country; the mighty rivers that cross the lines of climate and thus facilitate the interchange of natural and industrial products; while the wonder-working arm of the engineer has levelled the mountain walls which separate the East and West, compelling your own Alleghanies, my Maryland and Pennsylvania friends, to open wide their everlasting doors to the chariot wheels of traffic and travel; these bonds of union are of perennial force and energy, while the causes of alienation are imaginary, factitious, and transient. The heart of the people North and South is for the Union. Indications, too plain to be mistaken, announce the fact, both in the East and the West of the States in rebellion. In North Carolina and Arkansas the fatal charm at length is broken. At Raleigh and Little Rock the lips of honest and brave men are unsealed, and an independent press is unlimbering its artillery. The weary masses of the people are yearning to see the dear old flag floating again upon the capitols, and they sigh for the return of the peace, prosperity, and happiness which they enjoyed under a government whose power was felt only in its blessings. And now, friends, fellow-citizens of Gettysburg and Pennsylvania, and you from remoter States, let me again invoke your benediction, as we part, on these honored graves. You feel, though the occasion is mournful, that it is good to be here. You feel that it was greatly auspicious for the cause of the country that the men of the East and the men of the West, the men of nineteen sister States, stood side by side on the perilous ridges of the battle. You now feel it a new bond of union, that they shall lie side by side, till a clarion louder than that which marshaled them to the combat shall awake their slumbers. God bless the Union! It is dearer to us for the blood of those brave men shed in its defense. The spots on which they stood and fell; these pleasant heights; the fertile plain beneath them; the thriving village whose streets so lately rang with the strange din of war; the fields beyond the ridge, where the noble Reynolds held the advancing foe at bay, and while he gave up his own life, assured by his forethought and self-sacrifice the triumph of the two succeeding days; the little streams which wind through the hills, on whose banks in after times the wondering plowman will turn up, with the rude weapons of savage warfare, the fearful missiles of modern artillery; the Seminary ridge, the peach-orchard, Cemetery, Culp and Wolf Hill, Round Top, Little Round Top, humble names, henceforward dear and famous; no lapse of time, no distance of space, shall cause you to be forgotten. "The whole earth," said Pericles, as he stood over the remains of his fellow-citizens who had fallen in the first year of the Peloponesian war, "the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men." All time, he might have added, is the millennium of their glory. Surely I would do no injustice to the other noble achievements of the war, which have reflected such honor on both arms of the service, and have entitled the armies and the navy of the United States, their officers and men, to the warmest thanks and the richest rewards which a grateful people can pay. But they I am sure, will join us in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of these martyr-heroes, that wheresoever throughout the civilized world the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country, there will be no brighter page than that which relates The Battles of Gettysburg.

[After the singing of an ode, the President of the United States made the following dedicatory address:]

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal (applause). Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract (applause). The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here (applause). It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on (applause). It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we hereby highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain (applause); that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that governments of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth (long-continued applause).

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

After the dedication ceremonies were over, the President returned to the residence of Mr. Wills, whose guest he has been since he arrived here, and from thence walked to the church on Baltimore street, to listen to an oration by Lieut.-Gov. Anderson, of Ohio. He walked up to the church arm in arm with the famous Tom Burns, the only man in Gettysburg who had patriotism or pluck enough to take a gun on his shoulder and help the Union army defend his town.

Soon after the arrival of the President at Gettysburg, the evening before the dedication, he was serenaded by a Baltimore band, and after numerous calls for "the President," "Old Abe," "Uncle Abe," "Father Abraham," "the next President," etc., etc., was induced to make his appearance at the door. He said he was tired, and did not feel like speaking, and as a man who did not feel like talking was apt to say foolish things, he begged to be excused from making a speech. The audience cheered the sentiment, and the President, taking it for granted he was excused, retired to his room. The crowd then called on Secretary Seward, who was stopping near by with Mr. Harper, editor of a paper printed here, and were more successful. After two or three airs by the band, mingled in the calls for the Secretary, Mr. Seward made his appearance, and spoke as follows:

MR. SEWARD'S SPEECH.

Fellow-citizens: I am now sixty years old and upward; I have been in public life practically forty years of that time, and yet this is the first time that ever any people or community so near to the borders of Maryland was found willing to listen to my voice; and the reason was that I said forty years ago that slavery was opening before this people a grave-yard that was to be filled with brothers falling in mutual political combat. I knew that the cause that was hurrying the Union into this dreadful strife was slavery, and when I did elevate my voice it was to warn the people to remove that cause when they could by constitutional means, and so avert the catastrophe of civil war that now unhappily has fallen upon the nation deluging it in blood. That crisis came, and we see the result. I am thankful that you are willing to hear me at last. I thank my God that I believe this strife is going to end in the removal of that evil which ought to have been removed by peaceful means and deliberate councils (good). I thank my God for the hope that this is the last fratricidal war which will fall upon the country—a country vouchsafed by Heaven—the richest, the broadest, the most beautiful, most magnificent and capacious ever yet bestowed upon a people, that has ever been given to any part of the human race (applause). And I thank God for the hope that when that cause is removed, simply by the operation of abolishing it, as the origin of the great treason that is without justification and without parallel, we shall thenceforth be united, be only one country, having only one hope, one ambition, and one destiny (applause). Then we shall know that we are not enemies, but that we are friends and brothers, that this Union is a reality, and we shall mourn together for the evil wrought by this rebellion. We are now near the graves of the misguided, whom we have consigned to their last resting-place with pity for their errors, and with the same heartful of grief with which we mourn over the brother by whose hand, raised in defence of his government, that misguided brother perished. When we part to-morrow night, let us remember that we owe it to our country and to mankind that this war shall have for its conclusion the establishing of the principle of Democratic government—the simple principle that whatever party, whatever portion of the Union prevails by constitutional suffrage in an election, that party is to be respected and maintained in power until it shall give place, on another trial, and another verdict to a different portion of the people (good). If you do not do that, you are drifting at once and irresistibly to the very verge of the destruction of your government. But with that principle this government of ours—the freest, the best, the wisest and the happiest in the world—must be; and, so far as we are concerned, practically will be, immortal [applause].

A NORTHERN LADY AT THE SOUTH.

From The Elmira (N. Y.) Advertiser.

A former well known resident of Elmira passed through here, a few days since, on her return from Richmond, whither she went last Spring, by flag of truce from Fortress Monroe, to visit some near relatives in the interior of the State of Virginia. She had opportunities of entering into some of the leading secession families of the Capitol and other parts of the State. For some time there was not much mistrust of her visit, but after awhile it began to be whispered around that she was a Northern spy, and, although her relatives were nearly connected with rebel families in the highest estate, and intimate with the family of President Davis, she was not exempted from a formal arrest, from which she was relieved by the good offices of a distinguished lawyer, who, for a good fee, defended her case successfully, and brought about her release, but at the loss of all her valuables and clothing. But after this, one of the secret spies was constantly on her track, noting every action and recording her conversation, and she learned she was to be arrested a second time, from a friend. Thinking she had better, quietly if possible, get out of rebeldom, she, with simply a bare suit of clothes, well worn at that, secretly, one night, took the cars to Richmond, which she reached in safety, but still found herself an object of espionage. She here applied to a tried Confederate official, who directed her, if possible, to get to Petersburg, and from there he would endeavor to get her safely into our lines with the exchanged Union prisoners being sent forward. Without exciting suspicion, she procured a pass from the Provost-Marshal to go to Petersburg, and getting into the company of some Sisters of Mercy, they reached that point without molestation.

She had the opportunity of visiting the various prisons where Union prisoners were confined; was all through the famous Libby Prison. Of the treatment of the majority of the Union prisoners, we have little conception. Aside from the masses of the vermin which cover their persons, they suffer the keenest pangs of starvation. She approached one youthful Union prisoner, who seemed in much suffering, and upon inquiring the cause of his pain, he replied "Hunger, madam!" In their exchanges of prisoners the rebels purposely select the poorest, weakest, and most emaciated of our men, who will not be apt to survive long, and in return for these receive back their men well fed, well clothed, and in sound health. She was in one of the Chancellorville rebel hospitals, located in a former seminary building. The sick and wounded were all carefully attended to, comfortably disposed on cots, the bedding being ample from the vast stores they had captured from our commissary trains and agents of the Sanitary Commission. The left of the building was stored with blankets, sheets and clothing thus captured. The rebel ladies were quite unceasing in their visitations to the hospitals. One day a beautiful young lady had procured a rare treat, and costly, too, in the way of a modicum of ice-cream, which she was dealing out to the rebel sick by the spoonful, going from cot to cot. Coming to a poor Union boy suffering from typhus fever, she tantalizingly approached his side, and holding a teaspoonful of the frozen delicacy, said, "Wouldn't you like some, you poor, good-for-nothing Yankee? Well, I guess it will do you good when you get it. I would choke you with it if I could," and so, for some minutes, the beautiful fiend stood and tormented the fever-parched youth. She reports that we have no idea of the terrible, demoralizing passions which now control Southern women, formerly delicately reared, modest, intelligent and highly educated. Profanity, cursing and denunciation are a common habit. Their influence goes far to nerve up the men to a constant fighting pitch, and no officer is tolerated away from his command unless sick or wounded. All others are shunned and even spit upon by the relentless Amazons. Of course there is little means to keep up the social appearances of society, still there are occasionally parties and weddings, but none of the usual delicacies are provided for these; ice-cream and cake, which was served at one wedding, was looked upon as a great rarity.

ONE WAY TO UNITE US.

There was a deal of truth expressed in a speech made at the Union meeting held at Little Rock, Arkansas, on the 31st ult. It was spoken by a Mr. Fishbach, an old gentleman of some local distinction, who was a member of the convention which voted Arkansas out of the Union in 1861, and whose opposition to the fatal measure of secession caused him to be driven from the State. His argument—or rather, plain and homely talk to his fellow-citizens—rested upon this ground, that the South was wholly ignorant of the condition and sentiment of the North, and that if it had not been it could never have committed so suicidal an act of secession.

Mr. Fishbach said:

"A native of Virginia and an old resident of this State, I have been one of you. The same direction has been given to my prejudices. I was taught to believe, and did believe, that everything manufactured in New England was made to cheat with; that the religion of the people was hypocrisy; that their touch was contamination. Fellow-citizens, I have seen New England and its people. I have been welcomed at the houses of the rich—an exile, without a decent coat to my back, or money in my pocket. I have always met the warmest Southern hospitality at the houses of their middle classes; and, my fellow-citizens, in one sense of the word, they have no poor. I have walked with awe and a condemning conscience through the school-houses found at every corner of a cross-road. I saw her barren hills covered with plenty; I saw her sturdy sons—every one of them an educated man—hasten to shoulder their muskets and place themselves in the ranks of the defenders of their country; and I heard them make excuses for the South, much in the spirit that a kind elder brother would for his wild younger brother; and I discovered, as you have, that they are not cowards. And, fellow-citizens, New England is a representative of the North."

He concluded by saying there was "no power on earth or below it that could destroy this government; for twenty million people like those of New England have declared: This Union must and shall be preserved."

Now, it seems to us that this is much nearer the truth, and likely to do more good, than the foul abuse which Seymour, Cox and Brooks are in the habit of pouring upon New England. An old writer asserts that no man thoroughly hates another after he has once seen him, which is an exaggeration of the truth that we are more apt to like those we know than those we don't know. The same remark applies to the different parts of our country. The more they shall come to understand each other the more they will like each other; and when that monster of slavery which has divided us has been destroyed, we shall coalesce with a deeper fraternal feeling than we have ever before manifested.—*Eve. Post.*

*THE ANTI-SLAVERY STRUGGLE IN AMERICA.**

From The London Star.

This valuable contribution to the anti-slavery literature of Great Britain comes before us at a time when information of the special kind which it is designed to afford is particularly welcome. All such as have had their hitherto dormant interest in the anti-slavery struggle in America awakened by the momentous strife now waging on that continent, of which slavery is the exciting cause, must naturally desire to learn something of the early history of that great movement; while the more select few who have been in the habit of watching the progress of the moral contest which in 1860 led to the triumph of a Free-Soil candidate for the Presidential chair will be glad to possess, in a condensed and collected form, facts which have been scattered through multitudes of pamphlets, reports, and newspapers. Miss Wigham's interesting work aims in the first instance to present, as completely as may be done within the compass of one small volume, a succinct narrative of the anti-slavery agitation in the United States from its earliest commencement down to the point at which the election of a President pledged to the non-extension of slavery, and the rebellion of the Southern States consequent thereupon, put an altogether new face upon the question; and in the second place to commemorate the heroic endurance of those men and women whose self-sacrificing efforts on behalf of what was for many years at once a losing and a perilous cause, entitle them to be remembered as its martyrs. The history opens with a brief mention of the labors of Anthony Benezet and his co-workers, through whose instrumentality all slaves held by Quakers in Pennsylvania were emancipted in 1774—an example which gradually led to the renunciation in 1787 of the so-called right of property in man by the entire Society of Friends. From thence, after explaining the terrible impetus which was given to the slave system by the invention of the cotton gin and the rapid extension of the American trade in cotton, Miss Wigham passes to the career of William Lloyd Garrison, whom she aptly styles the pioneer of the fresh and undying crusade against that fathomless iniquity. It was about the year 1828 that Garrison, then a young man of twenty-three, first began to entertain opinions that could not be kept silent on the subject of negro slavery; on New-year's day, 1831, that he, in conjunction with a friend named Isaac Knapp, like himself a printer by trade, issued the first number of the paper called *The Liberator;* and it was just a year later that the American Anti-Slavery Society, consisting of about a dozen members, was formed. This was the "martyr-age" of the anti-slavery movement in the Northern States. Garrison was confined in prison to save him from the fury of a "respectable" mob. George Thompson, after more than a year of personal danger, was compelled to fly from the country. Miss Prudence Crandall, who received colored children as inmates of her school, was driven into retirement by violent persecution. Lydia Maria Child, known in this country as the authoress of the "Girl's Own Book," lost all her popularity through the publication of her "Appeal on Behalf of that Class of Americans called Africans." In Philadelphia, in 1834, forty-four houses and two churches belonging to people of color were attacked and for the most part destroyed; and on Independence Day of the same year the dwelling of Mr. Lewis Tappan, a gentleman residing in New York, was sacked and his furniture burnt in the street. In 1834 also a body of young men withdrew from Lane Seminary, in Cincinnati, because the faculty forbade any discussion of the slavery question during the leisure hours of the students, and by dint of unshrinking toil and indomitable energy they formed the nucleus of what has long been known as the Collegiate Institution of Oberlin. The history of this enterprise is one of the most touching episodes in a movement abounding in tales of unselfish devotion to a great principle; and Miss Wigham's quiet but thoroughly feeling mode of treating the subject inspires one of the most absorbing chapters in her interesting book. In 1838 a multitude of rioters set fire to the Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, where a convention of women had been assembled, burned the building with its books and furniture, and next fired the Colored Orphan Asylum in the same city; but these outrages upon persons and property fall into comparative insignificance before the murder of the Rev. Elijah Lovejoy for conducting an anti-slavery paper in the free State of Illinois. This atrocious deed, which was consummated in 1837, awoke horror in even some of the slave States, and was the cause of an indignation meeting in Boston, at which Mr. Wendell Phillips, now known as the first orator in the United States, first spoke on behalf of a race to which he has since given the best services of his great intellect and unsurpassed eloquence.

Such are a few of the incidents chronicled in the history of the earlier struggles of the anti-slavery party in America. The notorious Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850 brought forth more martyr cases, consisting of signal vengeance inflicted upon the transgressors against that Draconian statute; but which, like the assassination of Lovejoy, served as a sure means of awakening the heart and conscience of the Northern people. Miss Wigham has from the abundant materials before her gathered such facts as best serve to show at once what slavery could inflict upon those who were, though indirectly, the victims of its oppression; what men and women, strong in a determination to do justly and fear not, could endure for the sake of the standard they had lifted up; and how every fresh wrong perpetrated by the Slave Power served to raise a new feeling of antagonism in some honest minds, and to supply fresh capital to the stock of arguments which the Anti-Slavery Society was ever pouring out with constantly increasing results. We cannot follow the authoress in her remarks upon the various important stages in the history of the cause of Emancipation between 1850 and the election of President Lincoln in 1860; but will recommend those who have been troubled by confused arguments and conflicting statements upon the causes of the Southern rebellion to read her very simple and concise account of the matter, together with her clear explanation of the precise state of the slave's cause at the present moment. We can assure them that no more instructive or genuinely useful pages have been penned in relation to that phase of the stupendous struggle. The only thing to be regretted about the work is that the authoress did not give herself more room and so make the book more complete than one of less than two hundred pages can possibly be; but as a small book has undoubtedly some advantages over a large one (not the least important of which is that it finds many more readers), we are not sure that its moderate size has not rather increased than lessened the practical value of a most timely and conscientious tribute to the cause of freedom, and to the brave advocates who have given their lives to help a race who, until very recently, were deprived of all power to lift hand or voice for themselves.

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* "The Anti-Slavery Cause in America, and Its Martyrs," by Eliza Wigham. London: A. W. Bennett, 5, Bishopsgate Without.

NEGRO INCIDENTS.

[From "Incidents of Hospital Life," in *The Evening Post.*]

Speaking of negroes reminds me of some very funny scenes witnessed from my window. Every day long freight-trains brought in cotton, etc., from Tuscumbia, Ala., and other places along the line. I have seen them two hundred yards in length, piled up with miscellaneous articles, while crowning them were old beds tied in sheets, and all sorts of bundles, through which little negroes swarmed like bees. Look where you would a little black face and woolly head peeped out, while shining black eyes flashed and twinkled in innocent wonder upon all sides.

Yet it was a pitiful sight, too, these poor half-starved, half-clothed creatures. To see them swarming over the place, sleeping upon the ground, and voraciously eating the rations dealt out to them by government officials, was enough to bring tears to the eyes of the hardest. Poor, ignorant, helpless creatures, with no home, and a dark future before them!

People have often laughingly wondered if "Topsy" was not a creature of Mrs. Stowe's prolific fancy. Could they have enjoyed a brief season in Corinth I think they would scarcely have questioned the truthfulness of the character. Topsies might be found here by the hundred.

I had one in my room, a bright, quiet little creature, with a tiny round face as black as the ace of spades. I dressed her up and kept her about to do little errands for me, while the chambermaids in the house found her as much a source of amusement as usefulness. She would dance, sing and act quite as comically as Topsy ever did.

I had to laugh heartily one day at the doleful face of one of the clerks, as he came into my room, his hands covered with blood.

"Please give me a bandage for this, Mrs. S——," he said, laughingly, his tones at the same time full of vexation. "That Nell is a perfect little imp! See what she has done to me!"

"How? Why, your hand looks full of little pricks as if from teeth."

"Pins, you mean! I declare, its too rich! She's a little smart one, you may rest assured. It happened this way: We boys love to teaze her, and often got her into the store down stairs to hear her make droll remarks. I got into the habit of tapping her upon the head, pretending to be vexed, just to see her roll up her eyes at me in her comically-deprecating way. Her wool is thick, and I guess I tapped her pretty hard sometimes, relying upon its softness to protect her. Well, the little imp, what does she do but stick about forty pins along under the hair, through the edge of the turban, the points out. They formed a circle around her droll head, and just now I tapped her on the side of the head, so hard as to get a dozen right through my hand. The smart vexed me, and I tapped the other side, then the top—you see the result."

By this time I had finished binding up the lacerated hand, and indulged in a convulsive burst of merriment at his expense. He went away laughing, and a few moments later, when Nell came in, I examined her head, finding at the least half an ounce of pins deposited in the curly locks crimped up tightly over her head.

She stood demurely with her hands folded, during the examination, and in answer to my question as to why she did it, said gravely:

"Why, miss, he was allus a spattin' o' me."

SPEECH OF THE EMPEROR OF FRANCE.

From The London Dial.

Since that famous first of January speech, in which the Emperor Napoleon prepared the public mind of Europe for the war which a few months later he waged against Austria, professedly in the interest of Italian independence, the nations of Europe have waited with anxiety and impatience for any anticipated utterances of his upon the affairs of the world. At the present moment especially they are anxious to know something more of his policy than is conveyed in pamphlets and newspaper articles, the authority of which is dubious and might, if inconvenient, be easily repudiated. At last the oracle has spoken, the occasion being the opening of the French Chambers. The Emperor's speech is an oration. Usually, speeches from the throne are tame and spiritless—alike contemptible in style and uninteresting in matter. But Napoleon III. understands the art of language better, and his aim therefore is to speak with an air of apparent frankness, to communicate with all amplitude and fullness what he desires to disclose, and to make his deliverances with an eye to dramatic effect. All this is peculiarly true of the address which he delivered to the French Chambers on Thursday last. He sums up the results of his domestic policy during the past year with masterly conciseness and skill. He presents a glowing and, we rejoice to say, on the whole, a truthful picture of the progress which France is making in commerce, in agriculture, in just colonial government, and in education. This much he can say, and with truth, of the home policy of France. But what of foreign affairs? His chief, if not only ground of justification for the costly and sanguinary expeditions which he has dispatched to Cochin-China and to Mexico, appears to be that they were necessary to the maintenance of French influence, and that the development of foreign commerce is dependent upon an extension of territory. A grievous fallacy this, but as it is one upon which England has largely acted it is scarcely in our power to cast the first stone at the Imperial annexationist. But we apprehend that, despite all his efforts to persuade the French nation that he has studied their interests in those expeditions, he will have as much difficulty in convincing the more thoughtful and conscientious of his subjects of the special interest they have in the wars he says he has waged on their behalf in both the East and the West, as the British government will have in satisfying similar classes in this country that the bombardment of Kagosima was essential to the honor or commercial prosperity of England. What interpretation are we to put upon the Emperor's total silence with regard to the war in the United States? This is certainly a subject upon which he might have been expected to speak in weighty phrases. The Confederates especially must have been anxious to discover in his speech some gleam of hope for their failing cause. They cling so tenaciously to the idea of French intervention that they have almost begun to regard it as a *fait accompli.* The Emperor's silence may certainly have more meanings than one. It may mean simply that upon this question he does not intend at present to show what cards he intends to play; but it is much more natural to infer from it that, having already enough on his hands in Mexico, he does not intend to run the risk of burning his fingers by any further intermeddling with American affairs. With regard to Poland, to which country he devotes by far the most important portions of his speech, he adopts a tone at once generous and lofty. When he speaks of that unhappy land as "the heir of a right inscribed in history and in treaties," he confers upon Poland the dignity which is her just due. It is as the friend of Polish liberty that he claims the support of his people and the sympathy of Europe. He scouts the alternative of war or of silence. There is, he declares, one means left by which the salvation of Poland may be effected. Russia has declined the proposal of a Congress to settle the Polish difficulty, but, as the treaties of 1815 "have ceased to exist," there are other questions which agitate Europe and equally with Poland press for a settlement. He therefore proposes that all these questions, including the Polish one, shall be submitted to the arbitrament of a general Congress; and he wisely says that if they are settled the time will have arrived when the statesmen of every country may bury the rancors and enmities of the past, reduce "the exaggerated armaments which now menance the peace of the world, and devote themselves to the great interests of civilization. If this course be pursued Europe will enter on a path of peace and safety. If not, then he plainly intimates the alternative will be war. There is no mistaking his meaning, and least of all will Russia mistake it. He is prepared to unsheath the sword if she remains obdurate. St. Petersburg must decide the question—war or peace. If she decides for the latter we shall breathe more freely than we have done for years past. If, on the other hand, she chooses the hazards of war, we fear that the year 1864 will add another sanguinary chapter to the history of Europe.

GEN. GILLMORE AND THE COLORED SOLDIERS.

From The Evening Post.

If General Gillmore has failed to capture Charleston after six months of military operations, heralded by magnificent promises of success, he has distinguished himself in another manner. He has contrived to make himself exceedingly unpopular with the officers of the colored troops, who share the dangers and more than share the burdens of the war.

They were appointed with the understanding, on the part of the people certainly, and, we believe on the part of the government, that they should make good, trained soldiers of the colored men, able to meet the rebels in the field on an equal footing of discipline and capacity. On arriving to take charge of their men, these officers are told that the black soldiers are only to do fatigue duty, and that all military duty is to be performed by the white soldiers. The colored men are therefore kept constantly at work in the trenches, and no opportunity is allowed them for perfecting themselves in military exercises and manœuvres. They are employed in digging—their exercises are with the spade and shovel; they are treated as menials rather than as soldiers.

This is not the purpose for which we enlist colored men. We do it to enlarge our army, to increase the number of our soldiers, to present a more formidable front to the enemy, to spare somewhat of the bloodshed to which the white race is exposed, and to elevate the character of the black race by admitting them to important duties and responsibilities. This is the declared policy of the government, and if General Gillmore sets himself in opposition to it he should be admonished of his fault by methods which the government has not been slow to use, in other instances, when it has found commanding officers departing from the line of duty.

At this rate the enlistment of colored men will add nothing to our military strength. At this rate the white officers whom we send to command them should never be called captains, colonels, etc., but overseers, taskmasters, drivers. Such, in fact, the practices we are censuring would make them; and we wonder not that their pride is wounded by abuses of this sort. The men whom they command are not troops, but laborers.

It may happen that we shall be hard pressed by the enemy in that quarter, and that the help of the colored troops will become necessary. It will then be found that they are undrilled and undisciplined—that we have a nominal force on foot, to which we pay regular wages, and over which we appoint experienced officers, and which, although we hear that those of whom it is composed behave admirably, and form an excellent material for soldiery, is not to be depended on in an emergency, for the simple reason that no pains have been taken to make soldiers of them, and, in fact, no attempt to make soldiers of them has been allowed.

The government should look to this.

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